

**Wasted away in Drunkenness and
Neglect?
Clarence Plains and Cambridge Land Grants
1810-1820**

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A thesis submitted as part of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts with Honours in History
School of History and Classics
University of Tasmania
November, 2001

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge firstly the unfailing patience and assistance of my supervisor Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and his encouragement to undertake the topic, the help of the staff of the Archives Office of Tasmania, The Morris Miller Library of the University of Tasmania and the State Library of Tasmania, the support and encouragement of my fellow students, and finally the considerable help and support of Eric who has been left to cope with considerably more than his fair share of crises.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	5
Chapter 2	11
Chapter 3	28
Chapter 4	35
Chapter 5	44
Conclusion	52
Appendix 1	55
Appendix 2	58
Appendix 3	59
Bibliography	62

Introduction

The early history of Van Diemen's Land has suffered from the perception that it was merely an outpost of New South Wales. While this may have been true in an administrative sense, there is an assumption that the lives of those in early Van Diemen's Land paralleled those of the inhabitants of early Port Jackson and that studies of that colony can be assumed to apply to Hobart Town. Most historians writing about the early settlements have lumped disparate groups together or have concentrated on noteworthy individuals, or on those who arrived on a particular ship.¹ While much has been gained from these studies, less has been written on the detailed experience of the inhabitants as a community.

The concept that the Van Diemen's Land convicts comprised the worst of the secondary offenders is an attitude that has been difficult to overcome. Historians have written about the early settlement and tended to gloss over the next decades until the 1820s, seeing the Bigge Report as the major catalyst in bringing major adaptations to the economy.² In 1852 West wrote of the early years:

The first annals of the settlement offer few events worthy of record.

The transactions of a community, which in 1810 did not comprehend more than thirteen hundred and twenty one persons, - the greater part subject to penal control - could not, unassociated with the present, detain attention for a moment.³

¹ See, for example, Marjorie Tipping, *Convicts Unbound; The Story of the 'Calcutta' Convicts and their Settlement in Australia*, (Ringwood, 1988).

² Robson, West and Giblin all have little to say on the first decades. While Roberts is more positive he still devotes less than six pages to the period to 1830. Robson, Lloyd, *A History of Tasmania*, Vol. 1, (Melbourne, 1983), John West, *The History of Tasmania*, (Launceston, 1852), R.W. Giblin, *The Early History of Tasmania*, Vol. 2, (Melbourne, 1928) and Sir Stephen Henry Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement 1788 - 1920*, (Melbourne, 1924), pp. 40-45.

³ West, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

It is only recently that some historians have started to pay more attention to individuals and their contributions to the development of Van Diemen's Land.⁴

The decision to transplant a segment of British society into another new setting was one fraught with problems. This period of Australian settlement fell within the time covered by the Napoleonic wars, and immediately following the French and Industrial revolutions, all of which influenced the decisions made in the establishment and expansion of Britain's Australian colonial possessions. Many of the problems faced were similar to those that had been faced by Port Jackson earlier. Even in times of great need there appears to have been little, if any, attempt to utilize native plants as food except in the direst necessity, although kangaroo and swan were rapidly utilized in a move that quickly impacted upon the Aboriginal inhabitants.⁵ Later self-styled 'agricultural experts' added to the illusion of a ramshackle and haphazard settlement which depended upon slovenly and outmoded farming practices.

In order to consider whether the criticisms leveled against the early settlers were justified, this thesis makes a detailed study of the Clarence Plains and Cambridge areas of Van Diemen's Land during the period 1810 – 1820. This period covers the time from three months after the first land grants were made in the area through to the eve of the publication of the Bigge report, which changed Government policy on land grants. The land grantees in this area ranged from small emancipist farmers who were granted 30 acre blocks, through marines and free settlers, to large landowner businessmen and civil administrators who controlled land of up to several thousand acres spread across several districts. Only the grants made up to December 1820 have been included in the study, although there were people living and working land in the district who did not receive their grants until a later date. This investigation

⁴ Examples of these works include Irene Schaffer & Thema McKay, *Exiled Three Times Over! Profiles of Norfolk Islanders Exiled in Van Diemen's Land 1807 - 13*, (Hobart, 1992), Reg Wright, *The Forgotten Generation of Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land*, (Sydney, 1986) and Tipping, *op. cit.*

covers the use that grantees made of the land, and their wider economic and social relations.

As much of the work on early Australian history categorises people into distinct groups of free settler, ex-military, emancipist and colonial born, the settlers have been examined in these groups in order to discover if there was an overwhelming advantage given to any group. This is particularly important as there is a presumption within the existing literature that the ex-military and free settlers had a distinct advantage over the emancipist and colonial born segments of society. In examining the relationships between the different groups, and the reasons why grants may have been sold or given up, the work aims to show that a variety of factors contributed to colonial failure other than the oft decried laziness or lack of ability.

In order to explore these issues this thesis has made extensive use of the existing land grants and muster lists, which cover the study area. In the course of this research several problems were encountered. The major one has been the scarcity of evidence particularly in the period up until 1817. Many of the documents that do remain are government dispatches reproduced in the *Historical Records of Australia* series. These rarely mention small landholders by name. Records of land sales, differing land practice and evidence of other occupations is also scarce.

In order to fill the gap, an extensive examination was made of the *Hobart Town Gazette* and the few remaining copies of the *Van Diemen's Land Gazette and General Advertiser* and *The Derwent Star and Van Diemen's Land Intelligencer* for any mention of the settlers from the Clarence Plains and Cambridge area. A detailed analysis of the *Register of Judgements in Civil Cases, 1817-1821* has been undertaken to discover the level of indebtedness within the community. It has also been

⁵ Marie Fels, 'Culture Contact in the County of Buckinghamshire, Van Diemen's Land 1803-1811' in *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* Vol 29, 1982, pp. 50-52.

necessary to study records of births, deaths and marriages in order to find the relationships and family ties amongst the settlers.

Chapter 1

The first European settlement of Van Diemen's Land took place when a small party of forty-eight persons under the command of Lieutenant John Bowen landed at Risdon Cove on the Derwent in September 1803. This settlement had been brought about by Governor King's fears of rival nations colonizing the area. The major danger was particularly seen as the French, with Nicholas Baudin arriving in the region in order to make 'extensive collections of Natural History'. King felt that this was not a purely investigative voyage, but on the contrary, was 'looking for a place proper to make a similar Establishment to this'.¹ There was also a concern that the Americans might have been seeking to establish a colony in the southern areas of Australia or even claiming the entire island of Van Diemen's Land in order to establish seal and whale fisheries.²

Towards the end of 1802, in response to King's urging, the decision was made in London to establish a new settlement as a matter of urgency. There were a variety of reasons that made this a suitable time. Following the signing of the Treaty of Amiens convict numbers were again on the rise, creating an accumulation in the hulks, as the unemployed were swelled by the partial demobilization of the troops.³ There had been a series of poor wheat harvests in England, which had increased the hardship being suffered by the poor, and a large number of enquiries were received concerning the prospects of free settlement.⁴ It was understood that the Government wanted skilled mechanics and farm workers in the colonies and there was increasing pressure to ease the numbers of convicts going to New South Wales in order to allow the moral tone of this colony to improve.⁵ The increasing benefits from the whaling and sealing industries in the southern oceans were recognized, as well as the perceived need to

¹ Governor King to Lord Hobart, 9 November 1802. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. III, p. 698

² Governor King to Lord Hobart, 23 November 1802, *Ibid.*, p. 737.

³ The Treaty of Amiens was signed on the March 1802 and the news forwarded to Governor King by Lord Hobart four days later. He acknowledged receipt of the news on May 1803, *Ibid.*, p. 484.

⁴ Brian Fitzpatrick, *British Imperialism and Australia 1783 - 1833*, (London, 1939), pp. 151-156.

establish strategic settlements in the principal harbours of the region in order to prevent rival colonization.⁶

In April 1803 two ships, the *Ocean* and *Calcutta*, left Britain in order to establish a base at Port Phillip. The initial site was found to be poor. The soil was sandy, the water supply unreliable and the settlement was subject to hot northerly winds which blew throughout the summer. Added to these was the problem of the dangerous entrance for shipping into Port Phillip.⁷ Lieutenant-Governor David Collins made the decision to move his group of convicts and settlers from Port Phillip to the Derwent, arriving in February 1804. Collins found that the situation of Bowen's settlement at Risdon Cove would not meet the needs of a party unexpectedly expanded by the addition of several hundred people, and immediately looked for a more open site, moving the settlement to Sullivan's Cove on 22 February.

In November of the same year a further group was sent from Port Jackson, this time to the north of the island to establish a base at Port Dalrymple, again out of fear of the French invasion, and to 'Protect our Fisherys at King's Island and Cape Barren, which are beginning to be encroached on and Annoyed by the Americans.'⁸ The two areas were independent of each other and were both under the control of the Governor at Port Jackson. This extended chain of command was to prove problematical at times and inevitable delays occurred caused by distance. This was especially so if requests had to be forwarded to London for Colonial Office approval.

The small group on the Derwent developed slowly. Having established a base in the strategically important Bass Strait, the British Government realized that the French

⁵ Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History*, Vol. 1, (Melbourne, 1991), pp. 216-217.

⁶ Governor King wrote to the Duke of Portland outlining his proposal for a settlement at Port Phillip, 21 May 1802. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. III, p. 490.

⁷ Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Vol. 1, (Melbourne, 1983), pp. 39-40.

⁸ Governor King to Lieutenant-Governor Collins 26 November 1803. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Vol. I, p. 40, and Instructions to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson from Governor King 1 June 1804, *Ibid.*, pp. 588-593.

threat was closer to Europe as the Napoleonic wars restarted and therefore little was done to aid the growth of the colony. Having been established, the small settlement was virtually ignored by the British authorities and it was not until 1812 that *Indefatigable*, the next convict transport, arrived directly from Britain to Van Diemen's Land.

Apart from small groups of convicts forwarded from Sydney, the most significant supply of immigrants to Van Diemen's Land in the decade to 1814 came from Norfolk Island, following the decision to close this distant satellite station. Norfolk Island had originally been settled on 15 February 1788 by a group of convicts and soldiers sent from Port Jackson under the command of Lieutenant Philip Gidley King. Convicts and settlers, often ex-soldiers, from Port Jackson increased the group regularly, and after initial hardship, farming on the island flourished aided by the good climate.

In 1790 Major Robert Ross had taken over the management of Norfolk Island from King. Ross, unlike King and Phillip, was an army officer but also had some interest in agriculture and land use. He decided to inaugurate a system that would allow every person, whether convict or free to, cultivate land for themselves. Convicts were allowed two days each week to work on their own allotments, with rations being diminished over a period to encourage industry. Some of these ideas followed the system being used in America and which he had probably observed when serving for some time in North America and the West Indies.⁹

From as early as 1790, when the *Sirius* was wrecked on its rocky shore, there had been some opposition to the small settlement on Norfolk Island. The lack of a safe anchorage was a major cause for concern, and in late 1804 a decision was made to reduce the numbers of free people on Norfolk Island and transport them to Port

⁹ Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History*, Vol. 1, (Melbourne, 1991), pp. 72-74.

Dalrymple.¹⁰ By this time there were a large proportion of settlers on Norfolk Island who had been freed by servitude or were ex-military and who were farming their own land grants. Many also had families, and some of these children were old enough to enter the workforce by the time the community was resettled.

On 19 July 1804 Foveaux forwarded a list of men 'who may wish to vacate their respective Allotments of Land' to Governor King, listing the amount of land and animals held. These men were being offered grants at the rate of 2 acres for every acre of 'waste land' and 4 acres for every acre of land under cultivation, together with 12 months rations for themselves and their families and the labour of two convicts. Even with this inducement, Foveaux reported in December that only ten were still willing to relocate.¹¹ Nonetheless on the 9 November 1807 the first group of evacuees left for the Derwent on the *Lady Nelson* and by 1813 the island was abandoned. The reluctance shown by the settlers was justified, as a comparison of the land grants that were given up on Norfolk Island to those received in Van Diemen's Land shows that they did not get the full amount that had been promised. A number did not receive their grants for several years. James Belbin, although listed by Foveaux as one of the ones 'whom I conceive to have the greatest claims', did not receive his grant in Cambridge until 1823.¹²

It was not a popular move. The settlers showed considerable reluctance to the transfer as very few had any desire to leave their farms and possessions, some of them had been there for nearly twenty years and did not want to be moved to a new settlement that was still struggling to establish a bridgehead.¹³ Collins had his own

¹⁰ Governor King to Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, 20 July 1804. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. V, pp. 24-32.

¹¹ Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux to Governor King 20 December 1804 and Enclosure 1. *Ibid.*, pp. 216-221.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹³ An additional problem was to adapt farming techniques to a different climate than they were used to on Norfolk Island. On 10 April 1809 James Belbin noted in his pocketbook 'Winter began. Snow covered the Mountain. Next Day very heavy Hail Storm.' This would have been the first time the

problems in starting a new colony without the added problem of additional people who would have to be provisioned from meagre government stores. In order to encourage the removal the government promised increased land grants, free assigned servants and rations for two years. Some of their claims Collins found impossible to fulfill, writing 'I was directed to make Preparation for these Settlers ... but it was impossible to make any other than that of securing them a Place of Shelter on their Arrival, which I did by distributing them among the different Houses in the Town.'¹⁴ This arrangement did not impress the Norfolk Islanders as many were forced to reside in the houses of convicts whom they had been led to believe would be assigned to them on arrival. Collins did not have supplies of clothing and bedding which they expected to be waiting them, but tried to assist then by 'giving them such Assistance in building their Houses as my scanty Means would admit.'¹⁵

In spite of their dissatisfaction, the Norfolk Islanders were moved, some to Port Dalrymple but the greatest majority to the Derwent, where they virtually doubled the population of the settlement. Prior to departure they were divided into three 'classes': class one were ex-marines, seamen and emancipists who were industrious and deserving; class two emancipists who had behaved with propriety and had large families and were deserving of government favour and class three consisted largely of a handful of convicts who were still under sentence.¹⁶ The compulsory evacuation finally took place between 1807 and 1813. It is often assumed that all the Norfolk Island settlers were settled on lands either at Norfolk Plains in the north or at New Norfolk on the Derwent. Although a number were relocated to these areas, many others were granted land in other areas, particularly in Queensborough (Sandy Bay), New Town and Clarence Plains.

colonial born children from Norfolk Island had seen snow or experienced such cold weather. *James Belbin Pocket Book*, RS90/1 University of Tasmania Archives: Royal Society Collection.

¹⁴ Lieutenant-Governor Collins to Viscount Castlereagh 20 April 1808, outlining the evacuation of Norfolk Island and some of the problems this caused in Hobart Town. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 398-401.

¹⁵ *Ibid*

The resettlement of the Norfolk Islanders had an important effect on the demographic make-up of the colony. Although early Van Diemen's Land is often referred to as a gaol this can, at best, be described as misleading. Until the influx of convicts following the end of the Napoleonic wars, the majority of the settlers were free, as many of the convicts on *Calcutta* were on seven-year terms which had expired by 1810 and the great majority of Norfolk Island settlers had been free before their arrival in Van Diemen's Land.¹⁷ The failure to direct significant resources of convict labour to Van Diemen's Land meant that the rate of emancipation outstripped the arrival of fresh convict labour redirected from Port Jackson. In fact one of the most vociferous complaints of the colonists, was not the penal nature of the settlement, but the inadequate supply of bonded labour from Port Jackson.¹⁸ By the end of the Napoleonic Wars a number of areas linked by water access to Hobart had been settled by communities predominately made up of emancipists, ex-soldiers and marines and their colonially born offspring. Clarence Plains and Cambridge were typical examples of these settlements.

¹⁶ Reg Wright, *The Forgotten Generation of Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land*, (Sydney, 1986), p. 99.

¹⁷ Maxwell-Stewart, *The Bushrangers and the Convict System of Van Diemen's Land, 1803-1846*, unpublished PhD. dissertation, (1990), pp. 153-154.

¹⁸ On 10 May 1809 Collins wrote to Castlereagh on this lack of labour 'Through not having been furnished from Port Jackson with Prisoners to supply the Loss I have sustained in my original Numbers by ... the lapse of 6 years, by which all those who were embarked with me, and were transported for 7, have (with only a very few Exceptions) become free ...' The problem was obviously still acute three years later when to help ease the situation Governor Macquarie wrote to Major Geils on 1 June 1812, 'As you are so much in want of Convict Mechanics and Labourers at your Settlement, I shall postpone granting any more Absolute or Conditional Pardons to Persons of this description ...' *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Vol. I, pp. 421 & 483.

Chapter 2

Most early reports on the economy of Van Diemen's Land were unenthusiastic. Edward Curr wrote in 1824 that Norfolk Plains was 'a very rich and prosperous settlement' which was divided into small farms but that 'their possessors have done little beyond making them celebrated for their crimes, the lands themselves being left a prey to every noxious weed that grows.' He was equally scathing about the areas of Kangaroo Point, Clarence Plains, Ralph's Bay and Pitt Water, which were 'occupied by a class of persons' who were 'generally candidates for the fame I have bestowed upon the inhabitants of Norfolk Plains'.¹ The surveyor George Evans in 1822 was also unenthusiastic about the state of colonial agriculture claiming that 'the soil would be more productive if it were managed by skilful agriculturalists: no regular system is followed; and it is surprising that the produce should be so great as has been represented, from land so ill managed, and to which so little attention is paid, sown annually without any change or attempt to fertilize it.'² Descriptions of the farm buildings were also not flattering. Curr described the dwelling as 'usually built of sods, logs or mud, and thatched with straw,' with the yards and pig-sty comprising 'a few logs laid together in the style of the American fence' surrounded by rubbish in the form of 'wool, bones, sheep-shins, wasted manure, and the confusing heaps of ploughs, harrows, carts, fire-wood, and water-casks, with a few quarters of mutton or kangaroo hanging in a neighbouring tree' all of which he felt 'betokens waste and disorder, the total absence of industry and economy.'³

Raby argues that, whether convicts came from a rural background or not, there was a type of compulsory apprenticeship under the assignment system and for the Norfolk

¹ Edward Curr, *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land Principally Designed for the Use of Emigrants*, Facsimile Edition, (Hobart, 1967), pp. 34 & 60.

² George William Evans, *A Geographical, Historical and Topographical Description of Van Diemen's Land*, Facsimile reprint, (Melbourne, 1967), p. 65.

³ Curr, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

Island settlers this was in some cases for a generation.⁴ Agriculture in the colonies followed the American system of continuous cropping until productivity fell from the exhaustion of nutrients in the soil. The farmers then moved on to a new area allowing the exhausted land to lie fallow as bush for a number of years.⁵ This practice of continual cropping and bush fallow, or land abandonment so that natural vegetation could restore the soil fertility, was followed successfully in other countries and meant that the small farmer was less dependent on manures, but it was a system heavily criticised by men who had been landholders in Britain.⁶ It was this practice, similar to the rotation cropping previously used in Britain, which led to the accusation of men like Bigge of the wasting of the land. Whilst writing in a general way about emancipist farmers in New South Wales, Bigge said that

through their means ... the greatest quantity of grain has been produced for the consumption of the colony; and it is also through their want of means, and their want of capital and skill, that the productive powers of the soil, that is not generally a fertile one, have been exhausted by repeated cropping.⁷

Population pressure in Britain had led to a new regime of soil enrichment on the large, newly enclosed farms, but this was not a factor in the colonies where manures and other means of fertilisation were expensive. As Raby points out, methods which had proved the most successful in Britain, 'would seldom prove to be economically efficient in Australia with its different supplies of land, labour and capital'.⁸ In spite of this, different studies of agricultural practices have nearly always uncritically accepted the contemporary judgments made on farming practice which were based on

⁴ Geoff Raby, *Making Rural Australia. An Economic History of Technical and Institutional Creativity, 1788-1860*, (South Melbourne, 1996), p. 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷ J T. Bigge, *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales*; Australia Facsimile Edition No. 68, (Adelaide, 1966), p. 140.

⁸ Raby, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

‘British best-practice techniques’ rather than Australian conditions.⁹ While British methods may well have been more economical in their land use, they were impracticable in the new situation and would have been very expensive and land was, in any case, not in short supply. The colonial settlers adapted their methods to suit their experiences in the new land.¹⁰

Many historians have followed the examples of Curr, Evans and Bigge in dismissing the economy of early years. West and Giblin saw the economic development of Van Diemen’s Land as beginning after 1820 and have glossed over the earliest years, with the comment that the settlement comprised ‘the lowest specimens of English criminal class’, while Robson refers to the provision of wheat to the commissariat as ‘the most prominent feature of the colony’s economy’.¹¹ Emancipist settlers in particular were considered little better than useless. Walker described the ex-marines and sailors settled from Norfolk Island as prosperous, with their families holding ‘respectable and honourable positions in this colony’ while the emancipists by contrast were ‘improvident’ people who ‘bartered away their grants for a trifle’.¹² In 1828 the land commissioners were pleased to note what they perceived was an improvement in Norfolk Plains which

has always been described as containing the greatest proportion of bad characters in the island, they are now fast disappearing, and the small wretched farms with miserable skillings, are now occupied by respectable proprietors. It now bids fair to become a most flourishing settlement.¹³

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹ John West, *The History of Tasmania*, (Launceston, 1852), R.W. Giblin, *The Early History of Tasmania*, Vol. 2, (Melbourne, 1928) p. 130 and Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Vol. 1, (Melbourne, 1983), p. 75.

¹² James Backhouse Walker, *Early Tasmania: Papers read before the Royal Society of Tasmania during the years 1888 to 1899*, (Hobart, 1914), p. 164.

¹³ Anne McKay (ed.), *Journals of the Land Commissioners for Van Diemen’s Land 1826-28*, (Hobart, 1962), p. 76.

More recently Hughes has joined the general disparagement claiming that 'few settlers had any scruples about cheating their neighbours as long as they were not seen at it ... Technique of any kind was rare, technology feeble, and "cultivation" in any but the most rudimentary sense scarcely existed at all'¹⁴

Subsequent works show differing views. Marjorie Tipping, after a detailed study of the *Calcutta* convicts, claims that most 'who took up the land prospered'. Sharon Morgan believed that it was difficult to prosper on a small grant and that many failed, however she defines success as the gaining of a subsequent land grant, at best a dubious definition.¹⁵ There could be a large variety of reasons why a landholder did not gain a second grant and this did not necessarily reflect on his or her achievements as a farmer. Morgan also believes that the background and personal details of grantees, such as age and class, were of some importance in determining their success or failure.¹⁶ Rimmer argues that the Ticket of Leave system, which was introduced in 1813, encouraged the use of emancipist and pardoned labour as it became more economic to pay a piecemeal rate rather than maintain convict workers.¹⁷

As the population of the settlement increased it could only feed itself by locally produced goods or by imports exchanged for locally produced goods, and in 1821 two-fifths of the inhabitants were still receiving rations from the Commissariat store. By 1816 the colony was producing sufficient quantities of meat and grain not only for local consumption itself but also to enable 25,000 bushels of surplus wheat to be shipped to Sydney. While small farmers could not afford to invest heavily in their farms large landowners diversified, investing in other more profitable businesses.¹⁸

¹⁴ Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore: A History of the transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787-1868*, (London, 1996), p. 127.

¹⁵ Marjorie Tipping, *Convicts Unbound: The Story of the 'Calcutta' Convicts and their Settlement in Australia*, (Ringwood, 1988), p. 173 and Sharon Morgan, *Land Settlement in Early Tasmania. Creating an Antipodean England*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 27-31.

¹⁶ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁷ W.G. Rimmer, 'The Economic Growth of Van Diemen's Land 1803-1821', in G.J. Abbott and N.B. Nairn (eds) *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821*, (Carlton, 1969), p. 335.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

The benefits to farmers who supplied the Commissariat could be great although not everyone benefited to the same extent.¹⁹ Small farmers with large families to feed could and did suffer considerable hardship, particularly if the family consisted mainly of daughters, as sons could be used to a greater degree as farm labour and were eligible for additional land grants which daughters were not. In spite of the fact that women often made a considerable contribution towards the success of farms, it was rare for a woman to be granted land in her own right.²⁰ Until the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870-93, women's property automatically became her husband's on marriage, and he had control thereafter of anything she might earn.²¹ When women were granted land it was usually made out in the husband's name, unless she was a widow, and although there were some exceptions made, these were usually to women with husbands or fathers in powerful positions.

It is perhaps necessary to issue one further word of caution. The date of land grants did not necessarily represent the date on which the settler moved onto the land. Often they did so in anticipation before the grant was made official, and sometimes later, or even not at all. Settlers, and in particular graziers, also had a tendency to move outside the boundaries of their grant if the land was not already in use by others.²²

Because of the emphasis on the poor quality of emancipist settlers evident in the early literature, arguments which to a large degree have been accepted by later historians, it has generally been assumed that their lack of knowledge, laziness and improvidence caused many emancipists to fail. The assumption that failure was widespread has been largely untested. There have also been few attempts to locate the causes of failure beyond an affirmation of the indolent nature and slovenly

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

²⁰ Some of the problems faced by women in gaining land and access to markets are shown in D.M. Snowden, *Women and Work in Van Diemen's Land, 1803-1856: An Overview*, unpublished B.A. (Hons) dissertation, (1982), pp. 20-24.

²¹ Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

farming practices attributed to emancipist communities. Other features of these colonial communities have received little or no attention.

The experiences of all members of society, and the way in which they viewed each other, was of course, strongly influenced by British class structure. To the British middle and upper classes who migrated to Van Diemen's Land in increasing numbers after 1820, convicts were drawn from the ranks of the undeserving poor, and some believed that a criminal way of life was inherent to these people.²³ As such they were seen as a threat to the social order of Britain as a whole. Henry Mayhew, writing in the mid nineteenth century, showed some sympathy for the 'deserving' poor, but categorised the poor in general into three classes: those that will work, those that cannot and those that will not.²⁴ At the same time he gave an extensive breakdown of the different categories of thieves and their dependants. Mayhew's work marked the culmination of sixty years of writing, which insisted that criminal activity was largely confined to a residuum of idle poor, who lived solely by preying on the legitimate earnings of others.²⁵

Although many Australian historians have seen such views as an accurate depiction of industrializing Britain, those working on crime in industrializing Britain have increasingly rejected them.²⁶ In Philips' study of crime in the Black Country for

²² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

²³ Michael Sturma, *Vice in a Vicious Society: Crime and Convicts in Mid-Nineteenth Century New South Wales*, (St Lucia, 1983), p. 2.

²⁴ Volume IV of Mayhew's work in particular lists the different types of criminal that he saw as prevalent in London. Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor: A Cyclopaedia of the Condition and Earnings of those that will work, those that cannot work and those that will not work*, (London, 1967).

²⁵ In 1796 Colquhoun published a 471 page treatise examining the 'various classes of individuals who live idly and support themselves by pursuits that are either criminal, illegal, dissolute, vicious or depraved' together with estimates of the numbers involved in each class of criminal behaviour, adding proposed 'remedies' which would 'operate very powerfully in reducing the number of crimes.' He estimated that there were approximately 115,000 members of the criminal 'classes' at the time. Patrick Colquhoun, *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, explaining the Various Crimes and Misdemeanors which at Present are Felt as a Pressure upon the Community and Suggesting Remedies for their Prevention*, (London, 1796), pp vii-xi and 348-349.

²⁶ Historians who have accepted that the 'criminal class' theory include A. G. L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and*

example, he comments 'the great majority of offences seem to have been committed by people who were not full-time criminals, who worked at jobs normally but also stole articles on some occasions', these would appear to be on the whole opportunistic thefts, marked by 'casualness and lack of professional planning'.²⁷ Elmsley argued that the concept of a 'criminal class' was 'a convenient one for insisting that most crime is something committed on law-abiding citizens by an alien group'.²⁸

As the contributors to *Convict Workers* pointed out, the majority of convicts gave an occupation or craft at the time of their transportation and although many of these could have been itinerant, or out of employment at times, there is no reason to doubt that the majority had not at some point worked at these trades.²⁹ Although criticizing some aspects of this work, Evans and Thorpe found much that was valuable in the wider perspective that was taken by *Convict Workers*. They found that the broad argument that convicts were members of the working class was convincing, and felt that the data on skills 'reveals a diverse and increasingly sophisticated labour market and political economy in both Australia and Britain'.³⁰ It is only a minority of historians who now believe that the 'criminal class' existed as a large and distinct group whose only engagement with the economy was through crime. Yet, as Maxwell-Stewart points out, the likelihood that the 'criminal class' was a nineteenth century invention does not make it irrelevant. The notion that the

other parts of the British Empire, (London, 1971), Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore: A History of the transportation of Convicts to Australia, 1787-1868*, (London, 1996) and L.L. Robson, *The Convict Settlers of Australia*, (Carlton, 1994) while others who have produced strong arguments against it include N.G. Butlin, *Forming a Colonial Economy: Australia 1810 - 1850*, (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 11-14, Michael Sturma, *Vice in a Vicious Society: Crime and Convicts in Mid-Nineteenth Century New South Wales*, (St Lucia, 1983), Stephen Nichols (ed.), *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, (Cambridge, 1988) and Stephen Garton, 'The Convict Origins Debate: Historians and the Problem of the "Criminal Class" in *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1991, pp. 66-82.

²⁷ David Philips, *Crime and Authority in Victorian England: the Black Country 1835-1860*, (London, 1977), p. 287.

²⁸ Clive Elmsley, *Crime and Society in England 1750-1900*, (London, 1987), p. 134.

²⁹ Nichols, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

³⁰ R. Evans and W. Thorpe, 'Power, Punishment and Penal Labour: Convict Workers and Moreton Bay', in *Australian Historical Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (April 1992), pp. 92.

majority of convicts and their offspring were drawn from the ranks of the undeserving poor clearly played a powerful role in shaping colonial class relations.³¹

British class structure was also highly dependant on a patronage system and in the colonies as well as Britain it remained important to cultivate 'friends' in offices or with influence higher than one's own. To succeed in trade and other business ventures contacts were of vital importance and in the colonies it was the Governor who could exercise the greatest patronage, although as the New South Wales Corps proved it was possible to bypass him if one had influence with high ranking Home Government officials. Parallel to this was a system of rewards and punishments, particularly for convicts and emancipists – conditional or full pardons and Tickets of Leave, land grants, rations, gifts of government cattle, grain and tools which could all play an important part in the success or failure of any individual.³²

Amongst contemporary observers there was a self-fulfilling expectation that the convict population 'were generally ... a demoralized, dissolute, drunken, and lazy, although perhaps not ... unenterprising, set of men and women.'³³ Respectable people felt concerned about a colony composed largely of criminals. It was feared that their morals would taint the rest of society.³⁴ Under Governor Macquarie the official attitude changed to one of legal equality between emancipists and free. He was criticised for inviting emancipists into his society and to dine, although he only associated with those whom he considered showed signs of success and character, considering material possessions a sign of this. Rather than improving matters this

³¹ Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, 'The Search for the Convict Voice' in *Tasmanian Historical Studies* Vol. 6, No. 1 (1998), p. 84.

³² W. Nichol, 'Ideology and the Convict System in New South Wales 1788-1820' in *Historical Studies* Vol. 22 No. 86 (April 1986), p. 12 and N.G. Butlin, *Economics and the Dreamtime: A Hypothetical History*, (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 158-160.

³³ Ken McNab and Russel Ward, 'The Nature and Nurture of the First Generation of Native-born Australians' in *Historical Studies* Vol. 10, No. 39 (November 1962), p. 289.

³⁴ Kenneth Stanley Inglis, *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870*, (Carlton, 1974), p. 13.

tended to widen and exacerbate the problem.³⁵ The perceived 'fact' that emancipists came from the criminal class meant that they were viewed as little better than the convicts themselves. The very term itself came from the slave trade and the implication of a state of former slavery is revealing. There was an attitude of once a convict always a convict.³⁶ Inglis believes that to the emancipists themselves the term became much more, 'that it spoke of his new liberty rather than his old servitude [and] that he strove for the freedom of others.'³⁷

In commenting on the character of convicts whose sentences had expired in 1799 Hunter wrote

The vast number of idle and worthless characters who are let loose in this way, and who have no means or opportunity to get out of the country, become ... a most dangerous and troublesome pest. They will not work, but they contrive to form connections with the equally worthless of other inhabitants, who from their domestic situations have an opportunity of affording the best information where robberies and burglaries can be most readily committed. ... a still greater inconvenience is that they consume a vast proportion of that provisions which is rais'd in the colony and wou'd serve to feed the more industrious ... they are well aware of the consequences of their robberys, many having been retransported, a sentence they dread more than death.³⁸

From 1789 retransportation to Norfolk Island, and later to van Diemen's Land, was introduced as a punishment for convicts and emancipists who reoffended.

³⁵ John Molony, *The Native-born; The First White Australians*, (Carlton South, 2000), pp. 40-41.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁷ Inglis, op. cit., p. 14. Mudie also advocated the term 'felonry' as a descriptive term for 'all ... descriptions of the criminal population', James Mudie, *The Felonry of New South Wales*, (Melbourne, 1964), pp. vii- xiv.

³⁸ Governor Hunter to the Duke of Portland 1 May 1799, *Historical Records of Australia* Series I, Volume II, p. 352.

Initially the numbers sentenced and retransported from Port Jackson were insignificant.³⁹ In spite of this the convicts and emancipists of Van Diemen's land were perceived to be worse than those of New South Wales, and the emancipists from Norfolk Island were no better, they were the 'more felonious of felons'.⁴⁰ In 1895 James Backhouse Walker wrote '... as a rule, the Norfolk Island Settlers did not add much to the welfare and progress of the settlement at the Derwent. The great majority, idle and improvident in their old home, did not improve by removal. They were content to draw their rations from the stores so long as that privilege was allowed them, and then bartered away their grants for a trifle, to sink out of sight in obscurity and wretchedness.'⁴¹ Comments such as these were common at the time and Walker was joining an established tradition of writers who had slated Norfolk Islanders as worthless without producing hard empirical evidence to support their claims. In his report Bigge concluded in 1823 that 'In Van Diemen's Land, the moral character and general condition of the emancipated convicts appeared to me to be still lower than what it fairly may be taken to be in New South Wales.'⁴²

Later historians have often taken these views at face value, without questioning the assumptions behind them. Shaw believed that 'of the fifty four ex-convicts who had received grants in New South Wales before 1795, only eight remained on their farms' in 1800. Although at the same time he states that two-thirds of all grantees on the mainland had left.⁴³ In 1965 Lloyd Robson wrote 'Other men sent to Norfolk Island and then to Van Diemen's Land were nearly all bushrangers, and appear to have little to recommend them ...'⁴⁴ It is possible that he is referring only to those sent in the period leading up to the second closure of Norfolk Island in 1855, but it would

³⁹ In a study of the 427 male convicts on the 1811 muster Fels concludes that an absolute maximum of 57 could have been retransported, and probably many fewer. Marie Fels, 'Culture Contact in the County of Buckinghamshire, Van Diemen's Land 1803-1811' in *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* Vol. 29, (1982) p. 62.

⁴⁰ West, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴¹ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁴² Bigge, *Report into the State of the Colony*, p. 143.

⁴³ A.G.L. Shaw, '1788-1810' in F.K. Crowley, *A New History of Australia*, (Melbourne, 1974), p. 15.

appear in any case to be a somewhat sweeping statement. At other times he is more positive saying that about half the men who can be traced to 1821 established themselves as landowners or tradesmen and 'became the backbone of emancipist agitation for legal rights', and that 'of the men transported prior to 1821 sixteen per cent became something more than labourers' but he also claims that it is not possible to follow the fate of emancipists generally after 1828 as there were no comprehensive lists of all inhabitants after this date.⁴⁵

Others have taken a more positive stance. Fletcher in analysing land grants in New South Wales has concluded that in 1810 approximately seventy five per cent of landowners were former convicts, with the rest comprising free arrivals and marines. As well, ship's masters, officers and merchants sometimes had grants that were run in their absence by emancipists. In spite of a perception that military officers were the main stay of agriculture in New South Wales, a high proportion of arable farming was in the hands of settlers who had not been officers. The capital and land needed to grow crops was substantially less than that needed for livestock and so better suited to emancipists and settlers with limited means.⁴⁶

Many of the members of the lower ranks of the military personnel in the colonies came from a very similar background to the convicts. Indeed there were a number of convicts who had been military personnel during the Napoleonic wars and who resorted to crime in the wave of unemployment that followed their discharge into the community. Atkinson states that one fifth of the first fleet convicts for whom there are records of previous occupation had been seamen.⁴⁷ In spite of this the military personnel were viewed in a more favourable light than emancipists. In comparing the two groups from Norfolk Island Walker wrote '...the marines and sailors who came

⁴⁴ L.L. Robson, *The Convict Settlers of Australia*, (Carlton, 1994), p. 101.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-107.

⁴⁶ Brian H. Fletcher, *Landed Enterprise and Penal Society. A History of Farming and Grazing in New South Wales Before 1821*, (Sydney, 1976), pp. 88-91.

⁴⁷ Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History*, Vol. 1, (Melbourne, 1991), p. 113.

out with Governor Phillip in 1788, and went to the island with King....who had prospered in Norfolk Island, prospered also in Van Diemen's Land, and their families have continued to hold respectable and honourable positions in this colony.'⁴⁸

Emancipists were seen as being on a much lower footing than free settlers, as even reformed emancipists were seen as incorrigible, and those who had prospered economically were looked on with envy and even hatred.⁴⁹ Free settlers felt that they were disadvantaged economically by the free labour of the convicts forcing down the wage rates for those seeking employment and by the 'taint' of the convict system. They also resented the fact that they did not receive greatly preferential treatment over the emancipists in regard to land grants, rations and government help in the establishment of their farms. Samuel Guy wrote bitterly to his brother in England about the Norfolk Island settlers at New Norfolk who were 'drunken, poor, ignorant and lazy.' He complained about their methods of farming saying they 'crop the same Ground every year with Wheat – by one ploughing & no manure that is astonishing they shou'd get any crops from such management.'⁵⁰

Bigge commented:

When the means of subsistence become more abundant and more easy of access, and when domestic accommodations are more easily procured, and are exempt from the perpetual vexation to which the employment of convicts in domestic service gives rise, ... will offer advantages to emigrants that are not found united in any other portion of the British dependencies. ... there are very few persons of the free classes who, however respectable in character, are not still suffering from the effect of early or later embarrassment. Their habitations

⁴⁸ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁴⁹ Malony, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁵⁰ Letter from Samuel Guy to his brother Thomas Guy dated 4 August 1823 quoted in Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

possess little of comfort or convenience that distinguish the houses of the middle classes in England ...⁵¹

The children born in the colony tended to be categorized according to the same criteria applied to their parents, as the characteristics and traits of different classes were thought to be primarily hereditary.⁵² The problem for the native born children was that their class superiors both wanted and expected to see them as the image of their parents.⁵³ The committee set up to establish an orphan asylum showed their expectations in 1800 when they set out to rescue '...children from the future misery to be expected from the horrible examples that they hourly witness from their parents and those they live with ...'⁵⁴

In spite of these expectations Bigge noted that

the class of inhabitants that have been born in the colony affords a remarkable exception to the moral and physical character of their parents: they are generally tall in person, slender in their limbs, of fair complexion, and small features. They are capable of undergoing more fatigue, and are less exhausted by labour than native Europeans; they are active in their habits, but remarkably awkward in their movements. In their tempers they are quick and irascible, but not vindictive; and I only repeat the testimony of persons who have had many opportunities of observing them, that they neither inherit the vices nor the feelings of their parents.⁵⁵

⁵¹ J T. Bigge, *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the State of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales*; Australia Facsimile Edition No. 70, (Adelaide, 1966), p. 82.

⁵² Beverley Earnshaw, 'The Colonial Children' in *Push from the Bush* No 9 (July 1981), p. 37.

⁵³ Molony, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁵⁴ Proceedings of a Committee formed 'for managing and directing the Orphan Houses in this territory' dated 9 September 1800, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Volume II, pp. 536-537.

⁵⁵ Bigge, *Report on the State of Agriculture*, pp. 81-82.

Many early writers make similar observations regarding the self-respecting, moral, law-abiding, industrious and, even more surprisingly, sober behaviour which was displayed by them as a whole. But although this gave rise both to satisfaction and astonishment there was little attempt to seek reasons or explanations for it.⁵⁶

Emancipists were deeply resentful of the way in which they, and more particularly their children, were treated.⁵⁷ The children of the emancipists tended to disguise their background when possible. James Belbin, when being interviewed in 1880 referred to his father as having 'emigrated to New South Wales in the early years of its settlement, and removed from thence to Norfolk Island as a settler, where a fair sized farm was given to him, as was customary to free persons at that time.'⁵⁸ The fact that his emigration was involuntary and that, for at least part of his time on Norfolk Island, he remained a convict was carefully excised from the account.

The land alienation policy of successive governors needs to be viewed in the light of the social structure of the time. There was never any intention that the majority of the convicts would return to Britain after expiry of their sentence. From the beginning provision was put in place for land to be granted to emancipated convicts under certain conditions.⁵⁹ This followed a similar system to that which had been in place in the American colonies, as a means of securing indentured labour who would establish a yeoman class.⁶⁰ Large grants were given to wealthy free settlers or higher-ranking officials while the norm for the lower 'class' of settlers was 30 acres. Grazing was the most profitable form of farming, but required large areas of land, and the initial costs of entering into livestock farming were also higher than for arable farming. Initially there was some government assistance in establishment costs by

⁵⁶ McNab and Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

⁵⁷ Molony, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁵⁸ 'A Topographical & Historical Sketch' written by J.E. Calder and published in three installments in the *Mercury* on 2, 8 & 9 April 1880.

⁵⁹ Governor Phillip's Instructions 25 April 1787. *Historical Records of Australia* Series I, Vol. I, p. 14.

way of rations, tools, seeds and some animals but livestock was scarce, particularly in the early years and therefore more expensive, although in 1812 Macquarie ordered the disposal of government livestock to allow small 'deserving settlers' of the 'lower Class' to acquire one cow each for grain or money at a reasonable rate.⁶¹

Macquarie's arrival as Governor in New South Wales marked a change in policy. Fletcher believes that his continuing presence for the whole of the next decade gave a unity, which cannot be ignored.⁶² One of his instructions was to inquire into the land alienation practices that had occurred since Bligh's departure for evidence of malpractice and to increase 'Agriculture and Stock' as well as implementing other reforms.⁶³ Butlin believes 'the arrival of Macquarie at the end of 1809 marked in monetary affairs, ... a new stage of development' by regulating and restricting private promissory notes as much as by his establishment of the Bank of New South Wales.⁶⁴ Fletcher, however, feels that the colony developed only very slowly and without making an impact on 'British consciousness' remaining 'a small and quiet backwater' until 1815. Part of the reason for this was the slowing of transportation, as Napoleonic war demands meant that convicts were mainly employed in Britain and labour consequently became scarcer. In an effort to ease the situation, Macquarie reduced the number of pardons, and set the price of grain and meat instead of putting it to tender, to protect the small settlers.⁶⁵ By the end of Macquarie's governorship, New South Wales was importing wheat from Van Diemen's Land, where there was a

⁶⁰ A. G. L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and other parts of the British Empire*, (London, 1971), pp. 30-31.

⁶¹ Governor Macquarie to Major Geils, 8 February 1812. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Vol. I, p. 463.

⁶² Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 115. For other comments on Macquarie's land alienation policy see K.W. Robinson, 'Land', in G.J. Abbott and N.B. Nairn (eds.) *Economic Growth of Australia 1788-1821*, (Carlton, 1969), pp. 98-101.

⁶³ Viscount Castlereagh to Governor Macquarie 14 May 1809. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I, Vol. VII, pp. 80-83.

⁶⁴ S.J. Butlin, *Foundations of the Australian Monetary System, 1788-1851*, (Sydney, 1953), p. 75 also cited by Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁶⁵ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-140.

surplus.⁶⁶ Shipping was controlled by colonial merchants and became more specialized as the influence of the New South Wales Corps was removed.⁶⁷

In Van Diemen's Land small farmers divided their time between production for family consumption requirements and producing surplus grain to exchange for other goods.⁶⁸ For pastoralists the long-term profits were much higher, but for arable farmers there was a more immediate return. Small arable farmers could use their immediate family and servants for clearing and cultivation of the land, but graziers did not need to clear land at all. Other advantages for graziers were the lower costs of transporting the produce to market (livestock could be transported on the hoof), lower impact from natural hazards, as stock could be moved away from floods and other dangers and the basic economic fact that profits were raised by natural increase.⁶⁹ As well, livestock provided manure, often gave additional power for traction and could assist in the total clearing of the land.

Initially the Commissariat was the centre of the domestic exchange system and the most common exchange was between store receipt and farm produce. Once in private hands the store receipt retained its value as currency and until the early 1820s facilitated the circulation of commodities. Butlin claimed the store receipt 'continued to be of basic importance' until into the 1820s, while McMichael felt that the store receipt represented an early form of 'trading capital'.⁷⁰

In the 1820s the policy of the colony changed from attempting to settle small emancipist landholders to the active sanction of large landholdings. As large landholdings increased the advantages of assignment of convict labour became more

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-226 and Rimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-344.

⁶⁷ Philip McMichael, *Settlers and the Agrarian Question. Capitalism in Colonial Australia*, (Cambridge, 1984), p. 67.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁶⁹ Raby, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

⁷⁰ SJ Butlin, *op. cit.*, p. 31 and McMichael, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

obvious, which in turn reinforced the state commitment to landed capital.⁷¹ By 1820 Van Diemen's Land was seen by settlers as preferable to New South Wales because of the perception of the 'superiority of the Soil of that Island, and its being much more clear of Timber ...'⁷² making it more suitable for farming and grazing leading many applicants to seek permission to land at Hobart.⁷³ This was also attributed to a perception of a more fertile soil, lack of natural disasters and cheap access to local markets. Conditions seemed more familiar to those from Britain prompting many to claim that Van Diemen's Land was an Antipodean England.⁷⁴

If the contemporary observers, and later historians who have followed their arguments, are correct in their belief that emancipists wasted away their grants in drunkenness and neglect then it should have resulted in considerable inter-class tensions. If Raby and some of the other more recent revisionists are right, then relations within the settlement are likely to have been more complex. The object of this thesis is to test these arguments with a more detailed case study of the land grantees in the Clarence Plains and Cambridge areas.

⁷¹ McMichael, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

⁷² Governor Macquarie to Lord Bathurst 21 July 1821. *Historical Records of Australia*, Series I Vol. X, p. 534.

⁷³ Fletcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161.

⁷⁴ This is the theme of Morgan's – as she writes 'One suspects that if the early settlers had had their way they would have transformed Van Diemen's Land into an Antipodean England.' Morgan, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

Chapter 3

A regional study of early settlement patterns and settler relations provides the opportunity to shed some light on these issues. In the years 1809-1820 land was granted to seventy men and one woman in the Clarence Plains and Cambridge areas on the eastern shore of the Derwent.¹ The land grantees came from a variety of backgrounds and experiences. The greatest majority were emancipist and ex-military settlers and their children who had been evacuated from Norfolk Island to the Derwent. Others were emancipists and ex-military from the *Calcutta*, or the *Indefatigable* or who had been transferred from Port Jackson. These grants were interspersed with a small number of larger holdings that had been allocated to free settlers and civil administrators. Some people cannot be traced with any degree of certainty, and this particularly applies to those with common surnames, or whose surnames are unusual enough to produce a great variety of spellings, but for others it is possible to trace their lives in reasonable detail.

Of the initial group of twenty-three people who founded the Norfolk Island settlement in 1788, three were to come on to Hobart Town and be granted land in Clarence Plains. These were the emancipists Edward Garth and Edward Westlake, both of whom had been transported on the *Charlotte*, and Garth's wife Susan nee Gough who arrived on the *Friendship*.² Both of these men, as well as Richard Brown, Richard Phillimore, Edward Kimberley and Richard Morgan, were listed as having previously been farmers in the 1794 listing of previous occupations of some of the Norfolk Island residents, while John Boyle had been a sailor, Humphrey Lynch a tailor, James Morrisby a blacksmith and the ex-marine George Plyer had worked as a hosier.³ All of these men were later to gain land grants in the Clarence

¹ For a full list of those who received Land Grants in Clarence Plains and Cambridge 1809-1820 taken from *Early Land Grants in Van Diemen's Land* Vols 1-4 LSD 354, AOT is shown at Appendix 1.

² Reg Wright, *The Forgotten Generation of Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land*, (Sydney, 1986), p. 7.

³ *Ibid*, p. 60.

Plains and Cambridge area.⁴ They were joined by the emancipists William Atkins, Joseph Beadle, John Bentley, John Broughton, James Cham, William Cross, William Edmonds, Thomas Fowles, John Gibson, William Harris, John Howard, Joseph Jenders, Michael Lee, William Maum, John McCoy, Hugh McGinnis, Thomas Newby, William Parsons, James Pillinger, William Smith, John Steel and James Waterson and one woman Deborah Davis.

Others who had arrived on the *Calcutta* joined the Norfolk Islanders at Clarence Plains. These were five convicts, Uriah Allender, James Ballance, Arthur Connelly, William Jacobs, and Charles Williams. As well there were two free settlers William Nichols and his son William Nichols junior, a marine sergeant William Gangell and the chaplain Rev. Robert Knopwood, who also had the use of an additional grant as the chaplain of the colony.

Nine others did not arrive with either the Norfolk Island evacuees or on *Calcutta*. These were Thomas William Birch, a ship's surgeon from the *Dubuc*, Thomas Florence, a free settler from Sydney, William Blay a free settler, John Petchey a convict who arrived in 1812 on the *Indefatigable*, Lieutenant-governor Thomas Davey and four former soldiers or marines, Captain John Bader, Lieutenants Joseph Edward Breedon and George Weston Gunning and marine private David McCoy.

A further thirteen had been born on Norfolk Island. Daniel Stanfield junior was the son of an ex-marine, Ralph Dodge the son of a Superintendent of Convicts and Zachariah Chaffey, Joseph Chipman, Edward Garth junior, James Garth, John Garth, William Garth, Edward Kimberley junior, James McCormack, Richard Morgan

⁴ Of those granted land in Clarence Plains and Cambridge, thirty-three were settler evacuees from Norfolk Island. Further details of the Norfolk Island settlers can be found in Wright, *op.cit.* and Irene Schaffer and Thema McKay, *Exiled Three Times Over! Profiles of Norfolk Islanders Exiled in Van Diemen's Land 1807 - 13*, (Hobart, 1992). For *Calcutta* arrivals see Marjorie Tipping, *Convicts Unbound; The Story of the 'Calcutta' Convicts and their Settlement in Australia*, (Ringwood, 1988) and Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, Vol. 1, (Melbourne, 1983), Appendix 3 which also contains a list of those arriving on the *Indefatigable*.

junior, William Morgan and Richard Westlake were the children of convicts. In addition Michael Lackey and Joseph Potaski had arrived in the colony as infants with their convict parents, although for the purposes of this study they have been included with the colonial born.

Others are more difficult to trace. Benjamin Baines is listed as arriving on the *Lady Nelson* from Norfolk Island in 1808 and was probably an emancipist. Others with common names, like Thomas Smith, are difficult to tie down. There was a Thomas Smith who was a emancipist settler and another who was the son of a convict as well as two more on the *Calcutta*, and it is unclear which was granted land. Similar difficulties are presented in any attempt to track down the identity of Thomas Williams. Four men bearing this name arrived on the *Calcutta* alone. Two more were relocated from Norfolk Island, the son of Isaac Williams and Rachel Hoddy who was born about 1795 and the former miller and ex-marine settler Thomas Williams who was granted land on Norfolk Island in 1792. Both of these men are listed in the 1819 muster as living in Hobart Town.⁵ While the identity of others is more certain, it is difficult to determine how they made their way to the Derwent. George Dunstan was a convict on *Scarborough* in 1789 but there is no record of how he arrived in Hobart.

Administrative slipups further complicate the issue. Although a William Shirley is recorded as receiving a land grant in the Clarence Plains area, no man of this name can be found in any other records. A James Shirley, however, appears in the Norfolk Island musters as a landowner, and again in the Van Diemen's Land musters as holding a land grant in Clarence Plains. In the absence of other plausible candidates it seems likely that this was the man who was listed as a grant recipient in 1813.

⁵ Land and Stock Muster, Van Diemens Land, 1819, Irene Schaffer (ed.), *Land Musters, Stock Returns and Lists. Van Diemen's Land 1803-22*, (Hobart, 1991) pp. 130-147.

There would appear to be a considerable delay between the time that land was taken up and officially granted. This would in part be due to the fact that all grants had to be approved in Sydney, and this could take a considerable time, but even given that delay, many would appear to have been farming their land at least four years before it was officially granted. To add to the confusion, although some grants are on the official lists as being given in 1813, it was not until 1818 that they were advertised as being available to the grantee on payment of the requisite amount.⁶

Of the land grantees who received their grants in 1813 a large number were listed as being on the land in the 1809 muster.⁷ These include the Norfolk Island emancipists William Atkins, Joseph Beadle, John Bentley, John Boyle, John Broughton (including his wife Deborah Davis' grant), Joseph Chipman, William Cross, Thomas Fowles, William Harris, Michael Lee, Humphrey Lynch, Hugh McGinnis, Richard Morgan, Thomas Newby, James Pillinger, James Shirley, John Steel as well as William Cross and Richard Brown, who did not receive their grants until 1817 and 1818 respectively. In addition Thomas Florence, Edward and William Garth, Thomas Newby, John Petchey are listed on the 1819 muster, although not necessarily in Clarence Plains or Cambridge, in spite of their land not being granted until 1820.

⁶ The date the grant was approved is taken from *Early Land Grants in Van Diemen's Land* Vols 1-4 LSD 354, AOT and is shown for the Clarence Plains and Cambridge areas at Appendix 1, the listing of grants approved and available is listed in *Hobart Town Gazette*, 14 December 1818.

⁷ A full list of land grantees on the 1809 General Muster is shown at Appendix 2, and the total and average amounts by status is shown at Table 1. These figures were compiled from Irene Schaffer (ed.), *Land Musters, Stock Returns and Lists. Van Diemen's Land 1803-22*, (Hobart, 1991), pp. 53-57.

	Acres	Wheat	Barley	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Swine
Emancipists	1272	84.5	20	15	190	15	15
(Average)	57.8	3.8	0.9	0.7	8.6	0.7	0.7
Military	150	2	1	2			1
(Average)	75	1	0.5	1			0.5
Free Settlers	330	23	2	16	82	33	6
(Average)	110	7.6	0.6	5.3	27.3	11	2
Colonial Born	62	4	1		15		
(Average)	32	2	0.5		7.5		

Table 1. Total and average land and stock held in 1809 by status

A notable feature of the land settlement pattern in Clarence Plains and Cambridge is the relatively small amount of land alienated to ex-military personnel. This certainly contrasts with the experience of early New South Wales and may reflect the prohibition placed on active military personnel engaging in trade in the light of the Rum Rebellion experiences.⁸

While the assumption has always been that the livestock industry was mainly restricted to the wealthy free settlers, with emancipists occupied in a more subsistence based agricultural system, this is not born out by the muster figures, at least in the case of the Clarence Plains area. Whilst in the 1809 muster the majority of landholders were involved in grain production with comparatively few animals, the largest number of sheep were owned by Richard Morgan, a Norfolk Island emancipist, with George Guest another Norfolk Island emancipist who later gained land in Pitt Water, holding the largest number of cattle. A feature of the returns, however, is the relatively small number of settlers who owned livestock at all. The small numbers of cattle were probably primarily used as draught animals and may have been rented out to others on a rotational basis during times of demand. One of the reasons for this lack of diversity would have been the lack of available animals for purchase. Although Norfolk Island emancipists had been promised stock, there were initially insufficient animals to supply them from Government herds, and the transfer

⁸ General Orders, 11 August 1804, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III Volume I, p. 522.

of some of their own stock from Norfolk Island was less than successful. On his arrival in Van Diemen's Land from Norfolk Island in 1808, William Maum wrote back to a friend Robert Nash who was waiting to be deported to Hobart Town later that year, describing his experiences - 'You ca'nt conceive the great carnage that has been on board the porporise [HMS Porpoise] in regard to the Stock, Crowder lost 5 Sows & 6 Sheep, Mitchell 7 Sheep & 3 Goats and all others in proportion...' ⁹

By 1819 the situation had changed, with the majority of landholders holding at least some livestock. ¹⁰ The wealthy businessman Thomas Birch had the largest numbers of stock with 365 cattle and 3822 sheep, but the Garth family was not far behind with 101 cattle and 3650 sheep between them. Both of these families had large land holdings covering different areas, but even the small landholders were primarily running stock or were both agricultural and grazing properties. The only one of those who had officially received a grant in the area who was involved solely in agricultural farming was Joseph Beadle, another Norfolk Island emancipist.

Name	Acres	Wheat	Barley	Beans	Potatoes	Pasture	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Grain in hand	Servants Govt Free by serv
Convict	2879	455.5	20.5	16.5	25.75	7029.25	12	895	9850	790	40
(Average)	75.8	12	0.5	0.4	0.7	185	0.3	23.6	259.2	20.8	1.1
Military	1935	4	0.5	0	1	1929.5	1	39	505	0	7
(Average)	645	1.3	0.2	0	0.3	643.2	0.3	13	168.3	0	2.3
Free Settlers	5026	219	7	18	11	4771	31	710	6189	200	15
(Average)	628.3	27.4	0.9	2.3	1.4	596.4	3.9	88.8	773.6	25	1.9
Colonial Born	1686	191	5.5	4.75	9.75	1445	9	476	4550	315	11
(Average)	80.3	9.1	0.3	0.2	0.5	68.8	0.4	22.7	216.7	15	0.5

Table 2. Total and average land, stock and servants held in 1819 by status

Livestock included horses, cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, pigs and fowls. Even the poorest settler usually had a pig and some fowls. Numbers gradually built up,

⁹ Eustace FitzSymonds, *A Looking-glass for Tasmania: Letters, Petitions, and other Manuscripts Relating to Van Diemen's Land 1808-1845*, (Adelaide, 1980), p. 11.

¹⁰ A full list of land grantees on the 1819 General Muster is shown at Appendix 3, and the total and average amounts by status is shown at Table 2. These figures were compiled from Schaffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-147.

mainly by natural increase, although stock was also imported when possible, mainly from Port Jackson. While it has hitherto been assumed that most of the imported stock was purchased by settlers who had arrived free, it is clear that this was not invariably the case. In 1816 a 'thoroughbred English Bull, a capital steer and one heifer heavy in calf' were being auctioned on the premises of the emancipist James Ballance.¹¹

Sheep were initially raised primarily for meat rather than wool, but the wool industry increased with the importation of better quality animals. The costs were high and importation risky. In 1820 three hundred 'very fine Merino Ram Lambs' were purchased by the government from John McArthur at 5 guineas a head for distribution among the settlers at cost. It was estimated that the final price would be about 7 guineas each when shipping costs were added. In spite of the relatively short journey, specially constructed pens on board the ship, and the attention given to them, seventy died on the voyage and others within days of their arrival from their weakened state, with only one hundred and eighty-five still surviving two months after their purchase.¹² The high cost of importation is reflected in the prices paid for high quality stock. In September 1820 Gunning purchased four merino rams for £29-8-0, and Kimberley purchased three rams for £22-1-0.¹³

¹¹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 7 September 1816.

¹² Governor Macquarie to Lieutenant-Governor Sorell 8 March 1820 and acknowledgement 1 May 1820, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III Volume III, pp. 8 & 15.

¹³ Enclosure 3, Deputy Assistant Commissary General Hull to Mr J. T. Bigge, 7 September 1820, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III Volume III, p. 684.

Chapter 4

Stock theft was a constant problem for all settlers, and there are numerous reports of the losses suffered. Often there appeared to be strong suspicion as to the identity of the person who had taken them. In 1816 it was reported that Thomas Birch had lost about two hundred sheep, which were 'supposed to be with the Sheep of Thomas Fisk, which are missing as well as himself.'¹ It is not reported whether they were ever recovered. In 1820 it was reported to Bigge that the people most likely to steal sheep were other sheep owners who took them at night and marked them as their own, mixing them with their own flocks. It was not believed that convicts would steal sheep as they 'could not find a market for them, nobody wd. buy them off him.'²

In 1817 one of the settlers from Clarence Plains was implicated in a stock theft racket. 'A flock of upwards of 700, belonging to Messrs. Stines and Troy of Coal River' as well as a number from other people were stolen, and part of the flock was 'found in the possession of John Bentley of Clarence Plains.'³ Bentley was sent to Sydney for trial charged with 'purchasing the same knowing them to have been stolen' and with having aided Trimm, the man accused of the theft, 'in committing the felony.'⁴ He was sentenced to transportation to Newcastle for fourteen years whilst Trimm was executed.⁵ In 1819 a reward of £25 each was offered for the capture of William Morgan and John Oliver who were accused of the theft of two hundred sheep 'the Property of Edward Kimberley, William Kimberley, Daniel Stanfield, jun. and William Nichols, jun. [which] were on the Night of 16th of February last feloniously taken and driven away from their Grazing Ground at the Tin-dish Holes,

¹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 3 August 1816.

² Examination of A.W.H. Humphrey by J.T. Bigge 13 March 1820, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume III, p. 279.

³ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 20 December 1817.

⁴ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 9 May 1818.

⁵ *Hobart Town Gazette* 6 May 1818 & 13 June 1818.

near York plains'.⁶ William Morgan, as well as his father and brother, was a neighbour of the men whose sheep had been stolen, having received his Clarence Plains grant in 1813, while John Oliver was his stock-keeper at Blue Hills. Oliver was already in trouble, with a £5 reward being offered for his capture, after he had been charged with felony and had escaped from custody on 2 March.⁷ Both men were recaptured and William Morgan was sent to Sydney to stand trial.⁸ How much this affected the relationships between the different families involved is not known. William was in gaol for two years in Sydney, but was back in Hobart by 1822.⁹ The discrepancy in sentencing is marked, possibly because of the larger numbers of sheep involved in the first case, but it also seems likely that Bentley was singled out as an example on account of 'the very considerable depredations on sheep [that] have lately been committed.'¹⁰

Bushrangers were perceived by the authorities to be an increasing problem throughout this period, although they were believed to have many sympathizers amongst the ordinary people. After 1813 the number of attacks on settlers' properties increased and the Clarence Plains and Cambridge areas were not exempt from this problem. In 1815 John Broughton was one of several men called on to give evidence on the burning of stacks of wheat belonging to A.W.H. Humphrey and Bartholomew Reardon in the neighbouring district of Pitt Water. He reported on a paper being found nearby with the message 'For in justes and we begin the next is [picture of musket at a man's head] for you all.'¹¹ Around the same time Thomas Newby was involved in an attempt to capture bushrangers who attacked New

⁶ This notice was regularly repeated in the *Hobart Town Gazette* from 13 March 1819 to 26 June 1819.

⁷ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 6 June 1819.

⁸ William Morgan was committed for trial on 7 August 1819 as reported in *Hobart Town Gazette* 14 August 1819, the reward for John Oliver is listed as being paid in *Hobart Town Gazette*, 4 December 1819.

⁹ Irene Schaffer and Thema McKay, *Exiled Three Times Over! Profiles of Norfolk Islanders Exiled in Van Diemen's Land 1807 - 13*, (Hobart, 1992), p. 120.

¹⁰ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 20 December 1817.

¹¹ Depositions re burning of stacks of A.W.H. Humphrey and B. Reardon, 10 March 1815, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume II, pp. 89-92.

Norfolk, killing one of the settlers there, Charles Carlisle.¹² One month later he was on the jury for the inquest of James O'Burne, another New Norfolk settler, killed in another raid by bushrangers.¹³ The following year Lieutenant-governor Thomas Davey's property at Coal River was targeted twice, with various articles being stolen, but no violence was offered to John Petchey, his overseer, or any other person on the property.

There would appear to have been very few attacks in the Clarence Plains area itself. Daniel Stanfield's property appears to have been attacked several times in 1815 and 1816, on one occasion being 'stripped of everything he had, the value of which could not be replaced with £200' and on another occasion a three hundredweight bullock being killed.¹⁴ In 1817 three bushrangers, Peck, White and Rollands, made an 'unsuccessful visit' to Clarence Plains, stealing Urias Allender's ferry to return over the Derwent before abandoning it at Hangan's Bay where it was found the following day.¹⁵ In 1817 Rev. Robert Knopwood was accused of collaboration with the bushrangers in a deposition by Michael Howe, one of the bushrangers involved, this case was never proven or disproven, but in the absence of any evidence was dismissed as being groundless.¹⁶

Economic activity conducted far away from administrative eyes was prone to other set backs. On 25 October 1818

a party of five ... young men residing in this settlement, proceeded in an open boat belonging to Mr T.W. Birch to Oyster Bay, ... in order to procure swan feathers, and kangaroo, seal and swan skins. Their labours were attended with more than usual success; having at this

¹² Depositions re murder of C. Carlisle by bushrangers, 29 April 1815, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume II, pp. 92-98.

¹³ Inquest on James O'Burne held 20 May 1815, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume II, pp. 122-124.

¹⁴ *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume II, pp. 108, 162-163, 167 &, 594.

¹⁵ *Hobart Town Gazette* 26-7-1817

place procured 300 lbs of swan feathers, 60 swan skins, 100 kangaroo skins and 34 live swans: and at Big Swan Port (commonly called the White Rock) which lies nearly contiguous, they got 151 seal skins.¹⁷

This expedition of some 150 miles in an open boat was only reported because one of their number was killed in an Aboriginal attack. There is no suggestion that this was in any way an unusual occupation, or an extraordinarily large amount of skins to have collected, and if this was the case, it seems likely that such ventures were a profitable additional income source. Two years later Thomas Birch reported that he could sell seal skins for between 11 and 12 shillings each.¹⁸

In the newspaper coverage of the event there was no suggestion that the Aborigines were in any way justified in their attack, in spite of the area being a 'favourite resort of the natives, no less than 500 having been seen assembled there at once' and the large scale slaughter of animals that must have been carried out by the five young men in the hunting grounds.¹⁹ Aborigines also occasionally attacked stock. Edward Kimberley claimed that about 1817 he had lost '500 by the natives ... I think it is thro' mischief rather than malice ... they kill them and leave them on the spot.'²⁰ There was no report of this incident in the papers of the time which could mean that it was a common occurrence, or that it was seen as an unavoidable hazard of farming. The evidence of violent settler Aboriginal contact in early south east Van Diemen's Land contradicts Plomley's assessment that it was 'not until about 1824 ... when the Aborigines began actively to resist the presence of settlers on their tribal lands.'²¹ Plomley argues that until this time the settlements were confined to the areas around

¹⁶ *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume II, pp. 238, 257, 262-263, and Volume III, p. 265.

¹⁷ At least two of the people involved came from Clarence Plains, in addition to Thomas Birch whose boat was involved. They were Zachariah Chaffey and William Garth, both emancipist's sons who had received grants in the area. *Hobart Town Gazette* 28 November 1818.

¹⁸ Examination of T.W. Birch before J.T. Bigge, 29 March 1820, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume III, p. 358.

¹⁹ *Hobart Town Gazette* 28 November 1818.

²⁰ Examination of E Kimberley before J.T. Bigge, 1 April 1820, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume III, p. 361.

²¹ N.J.B. Plomley, *The Aboriginal/Settler Clash in Van Diemen's Land*, (Launceston, 1992), p. 5.

Hobart, New Norfolk and Pittwater in the south and Launceston in the north and that it was only after the settlements spread to join the two centers in 1823, that Aborigines began to actively resist the settlers.²² The evidence would suggest, however, that prior to 1823 livestock was being grazed well beyond the relatively small coastal plots which had been alienated to the settlers.

In 1815 Rev. Robert Knopwood mentioned that 'information was received from Mr. Morgan's men from Scantlands [Scanlans] Plains that the native had killed and destroyed 930 of his sheep' and the carcasses burnt.²³ In 1819 the Kimberleys and others had their grazing licences renewed for areas such as Tin Dish Holes and 'Antill's Ponds to Western Tier' in the York Plains.²⁴ It is not known when these licences were first issued but it would appear that the settlers had taken over remote areas for grazing land from an early date. Other Aborigines are reported as assisting in crimes. When Michael Lackey's cart was robbed and his servant, John Evans, killed by a soldier of the 46th Regiment, 'a black native lad called Jacob' is reported to have assisted in the attack.²⁵ Fels may well be correct when she concludes that the Aboriginal quarrel with the settlers was primarily over the 'taking of what was rightfully theirs, their natural food the kangaroo' but it would appear that the conflict may well have been more widespread than previously considered.²⁶ The fact that the only 'natives' that were reported to be 'friendly' were the previously unknown tribes in the Macquarie Harbour and Port Davey areas, which Thomas Florence met with while surveying the area in 1819, may well be saying more about the European

²² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²³ 8 November 1815, Mary Nicholls (ed.) *The Diary of the Reverend Robert Knopwood 1803-1838*, (Launceston, 1977), p. 216.

²⁴ List of Persons to whom Licences for Grazing Occupations in Van Diemen's Land were renewed and granted for 12 Months from September 29, 1819, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume III, pp. 575-577.

²⁵ *Hobart Town Gazette* 25 October 1817.

²⁶ Marie Fels, 'Culture Contact in the County of Buckinghamshire, Van Diemen's Land 1803-1811' in *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings* Vol 29, (1982), p. 67. See also J. Boyce, *Surviving in a New Land: the European Invasion of Van Diemen's Land 1803-1823*, unpublished B.A. (Hons) dissertation, (1994), pp. 11-30 on the importance of kangaroo and other Indigenous foods in the early years of the colony.

settlers than the Aboriginal people.²⁷ The lack of emphasis on early Aboriginal-settler violence in the more recent literature is symptomatic of the way that the early economy has been traditionally viewed. It is now apparent that rather than a few undercapitalized farms restricted to coastal areas, a surprising number of settlers had diverse economic interests which linked them, not only to the development of the urban based economy, but encouraged them to expand far beyond the Derwent settlement bridgehead.

As well as their agricultural and pastoral activities at least twenty of the land grantees appear to have held down other occupations as well. Some of these were obvious, Thomas Davey was for four years the Lieutenant-Governor, and Robert Knopwood was primarily the chaplain for the colony, both staying on at the end of their appointments to continue farming, although neither appears to have made a great success of this venture. Others who might be expected to have multiple interests were the wealthy free settlers. The most obvious of these was the entrepreneurial Thomas Birch, who having arrived as a medical officer aboard a whaler, acquired a large acreage and in addition to this and his grazing interests, was involved in a large number of other ventures including shipping, importing and exporting goods, whaling and sealing. He also played a pioneering role in the development of the huon pine industry and ran a nursery.²⁸ Another free settler, Thomas Florence, was also involved in several activities, sometimes in partnership with Birch. He also advertised articles for sale; surveyed Port Davey, the Gordon River and Macquarie Harbour for the government; obtained 'exclusive right of plying a scow between

²⁷ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 2 January 1819.

²⁸ There are multiple examples of Thomas Birch's business activities regularly reported in the *Hobart Town Gazette* and *Historical Records of Australia*. In the *Hobart Town Gazette* of 3 September 1816 he was reported as having been granted exclusive trade from both Macquarie Harbour and Port Davey for twelve months after he 'discovered and named' them. In addition he gave evidence regarding some activities when examined by Bigge, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume III, pp. 354-358.

Hobart Town and Kangaroo Point' in 1819 and applied to erect a saw mill on the West Coast - although this was declined.²⁹

As well as these high profile activities, settlers of all backgrounds followed a variety of other occupations, although some of these at least would appear to have been short-lived ventures. Urias Allender and James McCormack were both ferrymen, although in September 1819, within four months of James McCormack being granted his licence to ply a ferry boat between Hobart Town and Kangaroo Point, his debts meant that the ferry had to be sold.³⁰ William Atkins, James Ballance and Michael Lee all held liquor licences for hotels and Atkins was additionally the local pound keeper. John Petchey was the Hobart Town Gaoler and overseer for Thomas Davey while Arthur Connolly worked as Deputy Gaoler. William Nichols senior was Superintendent of Convicts. Thomas Newby was an Acting officer of the Provost Marshal and George Gunning Inspector of Public Works and acting magistrate, as well as running a limekiln on his own property.³¹ William Parsons was Acting Chief Constable, and Richard Morgan senior, Edward Kimberley, Richard Phillimore, William Smith and Thomas Williams were all constables or district constables. William Maum, who had been a teacher of Latin and Greek before being sentenced to transportation from Ireland as a political prisoner, was assistant in the Commissariat and later became schoolmaster at Clarence Plains, while David McCoy was a stonemason and Charles Williams a file cutter.³²

Even those who remained primarily in farming pursuits appear to have diversified to some extent. In 1816 Daniel Stanfield junior built a post windmill, which would have

²⁹ Again there are several examples of his activities including *Hobart Town Gazette* of 4 July 1818, 24 October 1818 and 14 September 1819, Lieutenant-Governor Sorell to Governor Macquarie 29 June 1818 and acknowledgement, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume II, pp. 334-335 & 352.

³⁰ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 29 May 1819 and 4 September 1819.

³¹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 15 June 1816.

³² The various activities of individuals are mentioned at different times in the *Hobart Town Gazette*. For William Maum see also *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2, (Carlton, 1966), p. 217.

been a great convenience to the settlers on the eastern shore.³³ In 1818 he is mentioned as erecting 'another windmill' although this was probably the same mill as he moved it from its original position near his home to a situation with more wind on the property of Edward Kimberley, his father-in-law.³⁴

A major contributing factor in the lives of all settlers was the state of the early economy. Cash was an almost non-existent commodity, which meant that the main method of obtaining necessary goods was by a barter system. Not only stock, but all goods were expensive. In 1817 James Ballance lost a brown paper parcel containing some small items including his spectacles, these were valuable enough for him to offer a £5 reward, as they would have been very difficult to replace.³⁵ Although rum was notoriously used as an exchange commodity in early New South Wales, it was not only the officers of the New South Wales Corps who used it, nor was it the only commodity used in this way. In Van Diemen's Land wheat was widely used as an ephemeral currency. Nor was it only the military who were occupied in this practice. Emancipists and free settlers also saw the advantages and 'because they operated over a lengthier period they were to cause more hardship than the officers.'³⁶ Bigge was well aware of the problem saying that 'they receive the produce of the inferior settlers at a low rate in exchange for their goods, and watch the opportunities of obtaining admission for it into the King's stores, where they receive the regulated price that is there given for it.'³⁷

Fines and debts could be difficult to pay, owing to the lack of cash, and goods were frequently sold to cover these. David McCoy was fined £20 for killing sheep in

³³ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 8 June 1816.

³⁴ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 7 March 1818, Michael Stanfield & Stephen Mannering, 'Daniel Stanfield and the Rokeby Mill', 1986 Knopwood Lecture in *The Knopwood Historical Lectures*, (Rokeby, 1988), pp. 16-20, and *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, vol. 2, pp. 469-470.

³⁵ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 6 December 1817.

³⁶ Brian H. Fletcher, *Landed Enterprise and Penal Society. A History of Farming and Grazing in New South Wales Before 1821*, (Sydney, 1976), p. 87.

³⁷ J.T. Bigge, *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales*, Australia Facsimile Edition No. 68, (Adelaide, 1966), p. 142.

September 1817 and the next month some of his stock was auctioned to pay the fine. Although he is listed with a commission for 1000lb of meat in January 1818, he had absconded to Sydney and secretly returned on the *Frederick* in 1818 while under charge for debt and fraud.³⁸

Compounding the problem was the extended use of credit. An advertisement in 1818 offered to 'accommodate' prospective purchasers 'with a Credit, ... until the ensuing Harvest.'³⁹ This meant that it was very easy to overextend credit and a poor harvest could result in serious problems for many settlers. In 1820 J. Wade estimated that about two thirds of the settlers were in debt.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 27 September 1817, 25 October 1817 & 13 December 1817, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume II, pp. 290 & 296; Volume III, pp. 341 & 533.

³⁹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 21-11-1818

⁴⁰ Examination of J. Wade before J.T. Bigge, 20 March 1820, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, Volume III, p. 312.

Chapter 5

To find the extent of the impact of debt on the settlers in Clarence Plans and Cambridge it is necessary to make a more detailed study of credit transactions. The only way of obtaining this information is from a study of the Civil Court Records. Unfortunately the court records are not fully extant and do not exist for before 1817, however after this date a nearly complete run exists for all debt claims. In order to see how the land grantees of Clarence Plains and Cambridge were affected the data relating to all cases concerning them or their immediate families was studied.

Of this group the main prosecutor was Thomas Birch. He was involved in a number of enterprises including offering a range of goods for sale. These were to be sold at 'the most reasonable Terms, and for Ready Money or Wheat only.'¹ By offering goods for sale for either wheat or cash he should have been able to gain an advantage in accessing the commissariat. However in 1817 he only had 120 bushels tendered to the commissariat, which is probably less than he would have been producing himself, as in the 1819 muster two years later he had 90 acres under wheat and a further 7 under barley.² This would initially appear to contradict the expected advantage of gaining access to the commissariat, and it is unfortunate that the suppliers of wheat to the commissariat are not available for other years. However, as he also owned or had an interest in various vessels, it is likely that he shipped at least some of his supply to Port Jackson for sale. Certainly in 1818 his brig *Sophia* is reported as having arrived at Port Jackson and 'the wheat sent up by her was immediately sold at 10s per bushel.'³ While this is no higher than the price in Van Diemen's Land that year, it gave him access to a ready market and cash flow.⁴

¹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 5 October 1816.

² *Hobart Town Gazette*, 29 March and 5 April 1817, and Land and Stock Muster, Van Diemen's Land, 1819, Irene Schaffer (ed.), *Land Musters, Stock Returns and Lists. Van Diemen's Land 1803-22*, (Hobart, 1991), pp. 130-147.

³ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 13 June 1818.

Another frequent prosecutor was John Howard. Although this is the name of one of the emancipist landholders in Clarence Plains, it seems more likely that the man prosecuting was Captain John Howard, who owned at least three boats, the *Duke of Wellington*, *Young Lachlan* and *Henrietta*, which he used to import European goods for sale in his warehouse, and to export sheep and cattle. It would appear that he did not reside in Van Diemen's Land, but ran his business through his agent Mr. Kent.⁵ For this reason the data referring to his activities has been ignored in this paper unless directly affecting one of the land grantees.

The rest of the community was forced to purchase their goods from shipping merchants with promissory notes reclaimable after the harvest. One of the features of this system was that those who did not have ready access to cash were forced to pay inflated prices. The danger, of course, was that they had little option but to speculate on the harvest. In a good year they may have done well out of the transaction, but harvest failure or other disasters left them dangerously exposed.⁶ The need to speculate against the forthcoming harvest would tend to negate the assumption of emancipist laziness as settlers knew that a poor harvest could result in their ruin, giving an added incentive to work.

It is perhaps not surprising that shipping merchants should feature predominantly amongst the claimants in the debtors' court. What is perhaps more surprising is the appearance of members of other classes who also prosecuted for the recovery of debt. In order to find the background of the plaintiffs and the average amounts being awarded to them, all available civil court records relating to the people granted land in Clarence Plains and Cambridge up until May 1821 were examined. These were then analysed to show the average amounts for plaintiffs from each background and are

⁴ *Blue Books*, 1818.

⁵ There are numerous references to his business activities from the beginning of 1818 in the *Hobart Town Gazette*. He also sold John Fawkner junior's farm in Glenorchy in December 1819 'by Virtue of a Bill of Sale', *Hobart Town Gazette*, 4 December 1819.

shown in Table 3. The average amounts found for plaintiffs of the different classes were: Free settlers £23/11/1, ex-military £19/11/6, emancipist £12/18/7 and colonial born £14/11/8. Although higher awards were made to free settlers and the military their domination of the debtor courts was nowhere near as high as implied by the existing literature.

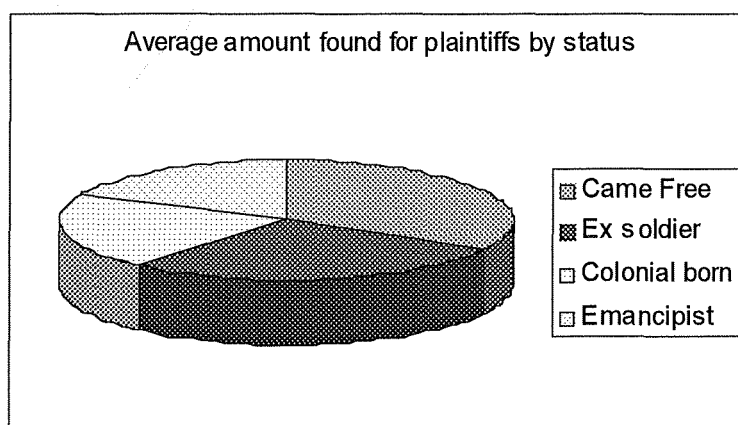


Table 3.⁷

A similar exercise was undertaken for the defendants in all cases, and is shown in Table 4. The average amounts found against defendants from the different classes were: Free settlers £17/11/4, ex-military £18/2/5, emancipist £20/19/0 and colonial born £14/14/7. There is little evidence here that a particular class was more exposed to debt. Those who were sued for the least amounts were the colonially born, with virtually no distinction between the other three. It would appear that, at least for the Clarence Plains and Cambridge settlers, social background made little difference in the civil courts. Moreover, it is also apparent that the network of loans and debts was more widespread than hitherto supposed and that small scale settlers showed little reluctance to pursue their creditors through the courts.

⁶ The Solomon brothers were an excellent example of this entrepreneurial system. Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, *Land of Sorrow, Land of Honey: A Short Life of Judah Solomon*, unpublished paper.

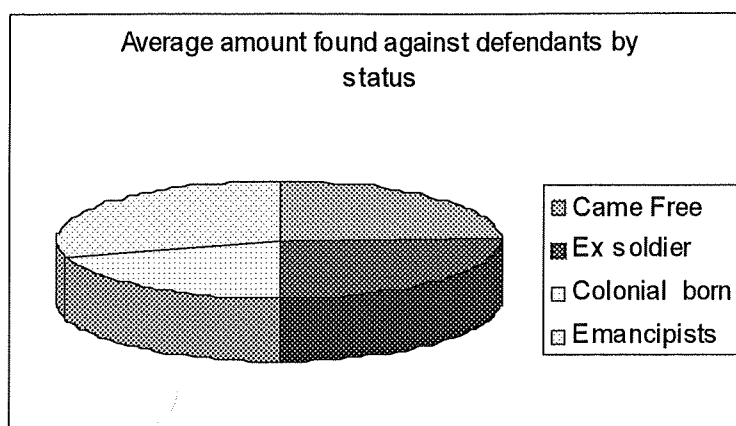


Table 4.

Approximately 35 per cent of cases studied resulted in the defendant having goods or property sold in order for his or her debts to be met. Of the thirty-three land grantees in Cambridge and Clarence Plains who were sued, thirteen had goods seized for sale to cover their costs and of these five were issued with a writ for their arrest as the sums owing had not been repaid. It would appear from studying the settlers only by their background groupings, that no clear pattern of indebtedness emerges. The distinction between the groups, at least as far as reliance on credit is concerned, is blurred.

A study of those who followed other occupations is also revealing. Of the twenty-three grantees who it is known pursued another occupation for at least part of their time, only six sued more frequently than they were sued by others, and of these only William Maum and David McCoy were in the position of having goods seized to pay their debts.

A comparison of civil cases compared to family was also undertaken. Only children born before 1810, that is who would have been at least seven before the earliest court cases, and so would have been of an age to have contributed at least some labour on

⁷ The amounts for both table 3 and 4 were taken from an analysis of LC 3/1-3, *Register of Judgements in Civil Cases, 1817-1821*, Archives Office of Tasmania

the family property have been included, as well as extended families. Of those who sued others, only six were not known to have families. Those who were primarily sued came from a much broader range. Of the twenty-two families taken to court for the recovery of debts ten were families with sons, but only four of these had property seized. These were the Garth family, who at the same time increased their land holdings by 67 acres and were running 3650 head of sheep and 101 cattle, the Morgan family of which the only member in trouble was William who was also charged with sheep-stealing, Edward Westlake who was at this time in his late 60s and had lost or disposed of his 105 acres, although his son Richard still retained his land, and the Morrisby family who had decreased their land holdings by 5 acres, running 195 sheep and 12 cattle. It is interesting that none of these families appear to have run other business venture, or held government posts which entitled them to a salary.

Families appear to have been important. One explanation for this is that, in an economy where convict labour was scarce and free labour was expensive, the use of family labour constituted a substantial saving. A comparison of those who still had their lands and those who no longer held any land in the 1819 muster is also revealing. There were a number who would appear to have lost or given up their land. Those who are still listed as owning land also had mixed fortunes, several having dramatically increased their holdings, whilst others remained constant or declined. Others appear to have no longer been resident on their grants. Edward Garth and his sons still had considerable holdings although they were listed as being resident in Hobart Town rather than Clarence Plains. Possibly they amalgamated their holdings in the one area around Edward Garth senior's grant in Queensborough, renting out grants received on the other side of the Derwent. Again those that achieved the greatest farming success were more likely to be those with large families, particularly

those with sons like the Garth, Kimberley and Stanfield families or those with multiple interests.⁸

Of the Norfolk Island emancipists, Benjamin Baines had advertised that he was returning to England in 1818, and it is likely that he did so, as he does not appear again in any records or on the later musters except for a record in 1820 as having 50 acres in the Cambridge area.⁹ John Boyle had a wheat contract in 1817 and is listed as a benefactor of 2/6 to the Auxiliary Branch of the Bible Society of Van Diemen's Land in 1819.¹⁰ This is a list of one hundred and forty-three of people who are members or benefactors of the Derwent branch of the Society and includes most of the most prominent men and women in the colony, including a number of the Clarence Plains and Cambridge land grantees.¹¹

Joseph Chipman had died in 1816 but his son Joseph was still farming his land and others of his sons had purchased additional land in the area. William Edmonds, although missing on the 1819 muster is on the 1822 muster. James Morrisby and his son Henry are listed as having no land although they own stock and the land appears in the name of his eldest son George. James would, however, have been in his 60s at this time and he may have handed over his land to this son to run. John Steel is not mentioned on either the 1819 or 1822 musters but he is probably the Jobe Steele leaving on *Chapman* for Batavia on 16th January 1818.¹²

⁸ In order to make a comprehensive comparison it was necessary to include data taken from LSD 354 Volumes 1-4, *Early Land Grants in Van Diemen's Land*, Archives Office of Tasmania, LC 3/1-3, *Register of Judgements in Civil Cases, 1817-1821*, Archives Office of Tasmania, *Tasmanian Pioneers Index*, Births, Deaths and Marriages 1803-1899, *Historical Records of Australia*, Series III, *Hobart Town Gazette* and the land musters for 1809 & 1819 from Irene Schaffer (ed.), *Land Musters, Stock Returns and Lists. Van Diemen's Land 1803-22*, (Hobart, 1991).

⁹ Advertised in the *Hobart Town Gazette* of 24 & 31 October 1818 that he was returning to England on the *Ann*, which sailed on the 18th November. Land surveyed but not yet granted and Return of Land Grants: Cambridge, *Historical Records of Australia* Series III, Volume III, pp. 573 & 579.

¹⁰ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 29 March & 1 April 1817.

¹¹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 15 May 1819 & 12 June 1819.

¹² *Hobart Town Gazette*, 10 January 1818

There is evidence that others were concerned in diverse economic activity. Although Charles Williams was listed as owning no land, he owned 450 sheep and had a meat contract for January 1819.¹³ He was working as a file cutter in Elizabeth Street in November 1819 when his wife committed suicide.¹⁴ William Smith was listed as renting land in Hobart Town, although in December 1818 he warned against trespassers cutting timber on his Clarence Plains farm.¹⁵ Michael Lee is listed as owning no land although he had 320 sheep and had a publican's licence for the Freemasons Arms in Hobart in October 1819.¹⁶ Richard Phillimore would appear to have sold his farm to William Maum and to have been working as a thatcher, as he was paid £1 for thatching from the Police Fund in 1819.¹⁷

Of the ex-military, two had died; John Bader in 1814 and Joseph Edward Breedon in 1812. William Gangell is listed as owning no land although he had stock. Apparently the emancipist John Fawkner senior has purchased his farm, as in 1818 he warned against stock trespassing on Gangell's Farm.¹⁸

Colonial born John Garth had died in 1816. Joseph Potaski advertised in 1818 that he was leaving for the Isle of France on the *Frederick* but does not appear to have left; certainly he was back in the colony by 1821 at the latest when he stood trial for robbing the neighbouring Thrupp household and was executed. It is possible that he gave his land over to his mother in anticipation of his departure, as she is listed as owning 30 acres, while Joseph is listed as holding no land but owning the stock.¹⁹ Rev. Robert Knopwood sold his 100-acre grant at Clarence Plains to Captain Murray in 1813 for £80, although he still owned 30 acres at Cottage Green near Hobart as

¹³ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 19 December 1818.

¹⁴ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 20 November 1819.

¹⁵ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 5 December 1818.

¹⁶ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 16 October 1819.

¹⁷ In 1818 William Maum advertised that people were prohibited from trespassing on his 'Farm called Phillimore's.' The payment for thatching is listed the following year, *Hobart Town Gazette*, 17 January 1818 & 9 January 1819.

¹⁸ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 1 August 1818.

¹⁹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 21 February 1818.

well as the use of the 400 acre chaplain's glebe at Clarence Plains, and was anticipating an additional grant of 500 acres.²⁰

The only landholders who one could say with any certainty did not succeed were the colonial born William Morgan, transported for sheep stealing; ex-soldier David McCoy under charge for debt and fraud; Joseph Potaski who was executed; Humphrey Lynch who would appear to have lost or disposed of his land, although he still owned a flock of sheep when he was found hanged by Dennis Geary a settler near New Town with whom he lodged; John Broughton who was charged for collusion in embezzlement of money collected for a distressed widow and family in December 1819, (there is no mention of his wife Deborah) and John Bentley had been tried for sheep stealing in Sydney in 1818 and transported for 14 years.²¹ In the majority of these cases failure can be attributed to events other than indebtedness, although financial pressures may have contributed to ultimate failure.

²⁰ Examination of Rev. R. Knopwood by J.T. Bigge 3 April 1820, *Historical Records of Australia* Series III, Volume III, pp. 367-368.

²¹ *Hobart Town Gazette*, 4 January 1817 & 4 December 1819 and Governor Macquarie to Lieutenant-governor Sorell, 7 April 1818, *Historical Records of Australia* Series III, Volume II, p. 313.

Conclusion

As Boyce points out, the experiences of the free settlers in the 1820s were different from those of the earlier arrivals. They predominately came from moneyed backgrounds and maintained links to British political factions and sources of capital.¹ It was this second wave of settlers that were largely responsible for shaping later perceptions of the early European settlement of Van Diemen's Land. Their perceptions of the existing community of small holders were largely ideologically driven. They sought to impose artificial categories on small-scale farmers, dividing them into distinct classes. The emancipists were uniformly tainted with the stain of convictism and were regarded as mostly idle and worthless. The colonial born were seen as more industrious than their parents but were incapable of escaping their lowly roots. The marine and New South Wales Corps settlers, on the other hand, were seen as worthy objects of indulgence. These categorizations, however, are at best crude. Each group was far more complex than has been given credit for and in any case were interconnected to each other in a manner which makes the sweeping generalizations of past historians rather meaningless. Intermarriages between groups were common, particularly between colonial born children of parents of different groups. Amongst this community shared colonial experiences may well have been seen as of greater importance than socio-economic background in Britain.

The small group of settlers, who have been the study of this thesis in the main succeeded in their aim of becoming self-dependant, and some did very well. There were very few who could have justifiably been said to have failed. Whether they were successful or not does not seem to have overwhelmingly depended on their background prior to receiving their grant, but was due to a far more complex set of factors, and their success sits uneasily with the picture of regional failure

¹ J. Boyce, *Surviving in a New Land: the European Invasion of Van Diemen's Land 1803-1823*, unpublished B.A. (Hons) dissertation, University of Tasmania, 1994, p. 64.

continuously peddled in the literature of early Van Diemen's Land. None of these images does justice to the complexities of the lives of landholders and tends to ignore other reasons that may have been a factor in the relinquishing of their land.

There is considerable evidence that small-scale settlers were in fact far more entrepreneurial than hitherto thought. They made use of the courts to recover debts, and many have appeared to have successfully speculated on the basis of their projected harvest returns – hardly a system calculated to produce indolence and idleness. They pushed the boundaries of the frontier in a number of ways. There is evidence that their impact on Aboriginal lands was far more widespread than has previously been considered. Grazing leases made out to small scale settlers covered a large proportion of the area between Hobart Town and Port Dalrymple from an early time. Many others illegally ran stock on crown land without seeking permission. Even though these lands were not formally granted, it is apparent that people were living in remote areas as stock-keepers.

A large number of settlers were employed in occupations in addition to agricultural pursuits, and for some these formed their primary income, inducing them to dispose of their land by sale or rental, although many ran some stock. Others pursued business on a large scale, and were involved in numerous and diverse activities.

While reports on their farming practices, which raised condemnation from observers such as Bigge, may well have been accurate, there is no indication that these methods were the result of laziness, or that they were unsuccessful. In examining their methods from a middle class farming background, Bigge set himself up as an expert without considering the different circumstances that were prevalent in an alien country where many of the methods he knew were neither obtainable nor appropriate. These comments may well say more about the observers of early

farming practice than the effectiveness of the agricultural system in early Van Diemen's Land.

Debt was a major factor for settlers of all backgrounds, and prosecutions were not restricted to the wealthy free settlers, nor were emancipists overwhelmingly numbered amongst those who found themselves on the wrong end of a civil suit. Those who were the least affected by debts were those who had extensive interests and a wealthy background, or those who had family networks to help them ride out temporary setbacks. It is possible that influence with people in powerful positions also played a part. Colonial influence, however, was not restricted to those who had come free. John Petchey, for example, had direct access to the Lieutenant-Governor through his service as overseer on his Coal River property, and this is evidence that Davey did not share Bigge's distain for emancipist agricultural knowledge. Others had access to the Commissariat store and other Government departments through official jobs as ferrymen, pound keepers, gaolers, government store keeper and constables.

The early settlers, and perhaps especially the emancipist ones, faced a struggle to survive. Not only did they have to face the problems of a new land, different climate and unfamiliar occupations, but they also had to contend with the prejudices and notions transferred from the society they had left. On the whole they achieved considerable success, success which has previously been underestimated. Not all remained on the land, but it is at least clear that some of those who disappeared from the musters sold their land to invest in other economic interests. This enabled them to contribute to the growth of the colonial economy in a number of diverse ways.

Appendix 1

Holders of Land Grants in Clarence Plains and Cambridge 1804 - 1830

Name	Acres	Place	Date Granted	Vol no	Page
ALLENDER, Uriah	30	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	146
ATKINS, William	110	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	50
BADER, John	100	Clarence Plains	12-9-1809	1	28
BAINS, Benjamin	50	Cambridge	1-1-1817	3	149
BALLANCE, James	50	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	214
BEADLE, Joseph	56	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	60
BENTLEY, John	34	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	59
BIRCH, Thomas William	200	Cambridge	1-1-1817	3	150
BIRCH, Thomas William	300	Cambridge	20-9-1813	2	238
BLAY, William	50	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	246
BOYLE, John	40	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	45
BREEDON, Joseph Edward	100	Clarence Plains	8-10-1810	1	43
BREEDON, Joseph Edward	110	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	139
BROUGHTON, John	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	46
BROWN, Richard	80	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	231
CHAFFEY, Zachariah	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	137
CHAM, James	33	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	42
Chaplain	400	Clarence Plains	12-9-1809	1	28
Chaplain *	400	Clarence Plains	15-6-1810	1	35
CHIPMAN, Joseph	75	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	48
CONNELLY, Arthur	35	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	148
CROSS, William	80	Cambridge	1-1-1817	3	148
DAVEY, Thomas	200	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	250
DAVIS, Deborah	20	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	47
DODGE, Ralph	65	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	146
DUNSTAN, George	30	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	173
EDMONDS, William	30	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	235
FLORENCE, Thomas	110	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	273
FOWLES, Thomas	35	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	55
FOWLES, Thomas	35	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	58
GANGELL, William	210	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	262

GARTH, Edward junr	50	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	145
GARTH, Edward senr	60	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	243
GARTH, James	80	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	143
GARTH, John	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	144
GARTH, William	40	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	242
GIBSON, John	100	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	62
GUNNING, George W	48	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	205
HARRIS, William	55	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	40
HOWARD, John	30	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	247
JACOBS, William	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	150
JENDERS, Joseph	30	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	233
KIMBERLEY, Edward	40	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	43
KIMBERLEY, Edward	140	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	38
KNOPWOOD, Rev. Robert	100	Clarence Plains	12-9-1809	1	27
KNOPWOOD, Rev. Robert *	100	Clarence Plains	15-6-1810	1	36
KNOPWOOD, Rev. Robert (Glebe Land) *	400	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	204
LACKEY, Michael	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	138
LEE, Michael	35	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	1	56
LYNCH, Humphrey	30	Clarence Plains	22-9-1818	3	230
MAUM, William	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	57
McCORMIE, James	50	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	145
McGINNIS, Hugh	60	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	44
McKAY, David	80	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	141
McKAY, John	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	51
McKOY, John	50	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	140
MORGAN, Richard	190	Cambridge	20-9-1813	2	215
MORGAN, Richard jnr	50	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	147
MORGAN, William jnr	100	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	234
MORRISBY, James	80	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	39
NEWBY, Thomas	50	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	245
NICHOLS, William jnr	60	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	141
NICHOLS, William snr	100	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	142
PARSONS, William	50	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	49
PETCHY, John	30	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	248
PETCHEY, John	50	Clarence Plains	31-12-1820	3	249
PHILLIMORE, Richard	64	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	53
PILLINGER, James	36	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	61
PILLINGER, James	40	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	193
PLYER, George	45	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	232

POTASKIE, Joseph	40	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	228
SHIRLEY, William	57	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	54
SMITH, Thomas	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	148
SMITH, William	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	149
STANFIELD, Daniel	60	Clarence Plains	1-1-1817	3	182
STANFIELD, Daniel	160	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	37
STEEL, John	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	41
WATERSON, James	35	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	52
WESTLAKE, Edward	105	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	63
WESTLAKE, Richard	60	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	220
WILLIAMS, Charles	30	Clarence Plains	20-9-1813	2	140
WILLIAMS, Thomas	40	Clarence Plains	22-6-1818	3	229

* indicates a confirmation of a previous grant

Appendix 2

1809 MUSTER

Name	Acres	Wheat	Barley	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Swine	
Convicts									
Atkins, William	95	4	1						
Ballance, James	50	2							
Bedel, Joseph	60	4	1.5						
Bentley, John	30	4	1.5				1	2	
Boyle, John	80	2	1						
Broughton, John	50								
Browne, Richard	40	1							
Cham, James	30	3	2						
Chipman, Joseph	75	4	1		2				
Cross, William	75	3							
Fowles, Thomas	50	6	2			12	2	2	
Garth, Edward	61	4	2		4	60	7	3	Hobart Town to Brown River
Harris, William	60	6				10	2	1	with Mark Carter
Lynch, Humphrey	30	3	1					1	
McGinnis, Hugh	50	4	1.5						
Morgan, Richard	130	18			9	97	2	1	
Morrisby, James	80	2	1				1	2	
Newby, Thomas	80	3				11		3	New Town
Pillinger, James	30	3	1						
Shirley, James	56	3.5	1						
Steel, John	30	1	0.5						
Williams, Thomas	30	4	2						
Military									
Breedon, Joseph Edward	100				2			1	
Plyer, John (George)	50	2	1						
Free Settlers									
Birch, Thomas William	100	5	2		5	38	1	4	
Knopwood, Rev. Robert	130	9			7	6	13		
Nichols, William	100	9			4	38	19	2	New Town
Colonial Born									
Lee, Michael	30	4	1			3			
Morrisby, George *	32					12			

Those marked * are not grantees but members of their families

Appendix 3

1819 MUSTER

Name	Acres	Wheat	Barley	Beans	Potatoes	Pasture	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Grain in hand	Servants		
											Govt	Free by serv	
Convict													
Allender, Uriah	30	1.5			1	27.5		14	150		1	3	
Atkins, William	60	15	1			44		2	120				
Balance, James	80	5			1.5	73.5		172	772		1		
Bedel, Joseph	57	11				46				50			
Brown, Richard	80					80			90		1		invalid
Cham, James	50	5		1	1	43			100				
Chipman, Catherine *									500				no land
Chipman, Joseph	75	35		1	1	38		2	500	200			
Connelly, Arthur	35					35			55		1		G HT settler
Cross, William	100	1				99			90		1		CR invalid
Dunstan, George	30			0.5	1	28.5							
Fowles, Thomas	30	18		1.5	1.5	9		10	250	10	2		
Garth, Edward	190	25	1	0.5	1	162.5		70	2000		1		HT
Garth, Edward	60												HT
Garth, Edward	70												HT purchase
Gibson, John	100	30		2	1	67		20	140	250	2		
Harris, William	55	35	4		1.5	14.5		4	400		2		
Jacob, William	40	15	0.5		0.5	24		2	40		1		
Jenders, Joseph	30	5		0.5	0.5	24			120		1		
Kimberley, Edward	140	30	4	1	1.5	103.5	1	120	100	90	2		D Const
Lee, Michael									320				HT no land
Maum, William	450	50		1	1	395	4	75	300		2		
McCoy, John	50	4			0.25	45.75		6	200	30	2		
McGinnis, Hugh	60					60			280		1		
Morgan, Richard	200	21	2	0.5	2	174.5	2	81	230		3		
Morrisby, James								3	20				HT no land
Newby, Thomas	50					50	1	44	365				HT
Parsons, William	50					50			1200		1	1	HT/ Const
Petchy, John	80					80		8	50		8		HT Gaoler
Pillinger, James	76	6		1	1	68			50				
Shearly, (Shirley) James	56	9		0.5	1	45.5			150		1		G/GM
Smith, Thomas	10	9		0.5	0.5						1		HT Auth/GS
Smith, Thomas								2					HT No land
Smith, William	50	40	1	3	3	3		8	60	40	1		HT Rented

Stanfield, Daniel	310	60	6	1	1	242	4	250	650	120	1	1	HC G/GM
Waterson, James sen	85	16			2	67					2		
Williams, Charles									480				HT no land
Williams, Thomas	40	9	1	1	1	28		2	68		1		Const KP
Military													
Gangell, William									105				no land
Gunning, George Weston	1890					1890	1	39	400		7	2	
Prior, (Plyer) George	45	4	0.5		1	39.5							G/GM
Free Settlers													
Birch, Thomas William	751	90	7	7	6	641	24	365	3822		8	11	
Davey, Lt Gov Thomas	3000	55		11	3	2931		125	1330				CR
Florence, Thomas	500				2	498					3		settler
Knopwood, Rev Robert	525					525	5	39	167				
Nichols, William snr	160	50				110		4	700		2		
Nichols, William jnr	60	20				40	2	170	120	200	2		
Nicholls, John								7	50				
Potaskey, Catherine *	30	4				26							OG/LG D
Colonial Born													
Chaffey, Zachariah	36	5		0.25	0.5	30.25		10	150	20	1		purchase HT
Chipman, Francis *	110	6				104		10	500				purchase
Chipman, John *	50	15				35		2	500				purchase
Dodge, Ralph	65	10				55		17	200				PW
Garth, Edward	50	9	0.5	0.5	0.25	39.75		25	700				HT
Garth, James									550		1		HT no land
Garth, William	50	6				44		6	400				OG/GM HT
Kimberley, William*	600	10				590	1	120	100	90	1		
Lackey, Michael	100	40		1	1	58	3	50	400	100	4		PW
McCormick, James	95				2	93					1	3	
Morgan, Richard jnr	80	18		1	3	58	1	28	300		1	1	
Morgan, James *								18					
Morgan, Margaret *								22					No land
Morgan, Sophia *								28					No land
Morrisby, Henry *									130				No land
Potaskey, Joseph								14	70				No land
Stanfield, Daniel	240	36	4	1	2	197	4	120	100	90	2		G/P/GM
Stanfield, Miss *	30												No land
Waterson, James jun *	60					60		2	150				OG/GM
Waterson, William *	60	30	1	1	1	27		2	140	15			OG/GM
Westlake, Richard	60	6				54		2	160				

Those marked * are not grantees but members of their families

Abbreviations used

Auth	Authorised by
Const	Constable
D	Discharged
G	Grant
GM	Governor Macquarie
GS	Governor Sorell
HT	Hobart Town
LG	Lieutenant-Governor
OG	Original Grant
P	Purchase
PW	Pitt Water

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